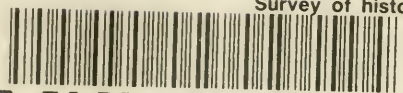


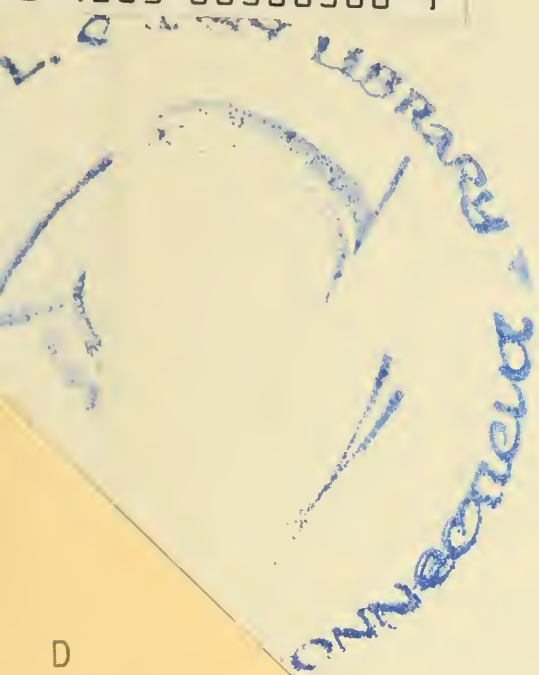
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1638

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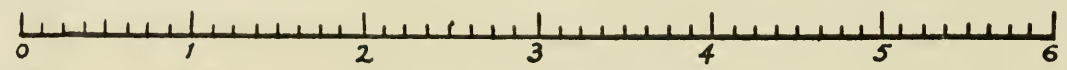
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A SURVEY OF HISTORY

OR



A Nursery for GENTRY.

HERODOTVS.

THUCIDIDES



T. LIVIUS .



C. TACITVS



THEATRUM MUNDI

FRANCIS TERNY HISTORIA THEATRUM MUNDI



LONDON
Printed by N. and
John Okes 1638 .

Will: Marshall sculpsit .

Are to be sold by Jasper Emery at the Eagle and Child in Pauls Church-yard near Watling

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1638a

Richard Brathwaite

A
S V R V E Y

OF HISTORY:
Or, A Nursery for
GENTRY.

Contrived and Comprized in an Intermixt
Discourse upon HISTORICALL and
POETICALL Relations.

A Subject of it selfe well Meriting the Approbation
of the Judicious, who best know how to con-
firme their knowledge, by this brieffe SURVEY,
or generall Table of mixed Discourses.

*And no lesse profitable to such as desire to better their
immaturity of knowledge by Morall Readings.*

Distinguished into severall Heads for the Direction
of the Reader, to all such HISTORICALL Mixtures,
as be Comprahended in this TREATISE.

The like whereof for Variety of Discourse, mixed
with profit, and modest Delight (in the opinion of
the clearest and refined'st judgements) hath
not heretofore bin Published.

By *Richard Braithwaite* Esquire, Oxon.

Hor. Quod verum atque decens curo & rogo & omnis in hoc Sum.

Imprinted at London by I. Oker, for Iasper Emery at the Eagle and
Child in Pauls Church yard next Watlin Street. 1638.

Y W V 9 V 8
NOT IN O

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TO THE RIGHT
 HONORABLE, HENRY
 Lord WRIOTHSELEY, Earle of
 Southampton, (Learnings Select Fa-
 vourite;) Rt. BRATHWAIT wisheth
 perpetuall increase of best meri-
 ting Honours.

Right Honorable,



O rarely is PALLAS
 Shield borne by the
 Noble, or supported
 by Such whose Emi-
 nence might Revive
 her decayed hopes : as *Brittaines*
Pernassus (on which, never were
 more inhabitants planted, and *Ho-*
mer-like, more usually expelled) is
 growne despicable in herselfe, be-
 cause protected by none but her-
 selfe.

This *Histori-
 cal Survey* was
 formerly ad-
 dressed in this
*Dedicatory E-
 pistle* to his
Honour, whose
 living memo-
 ry shall ever
 breath to po-
 sterity a sweet
 smelling O-
 dour. And
 whose unex-
 piring Fame,
 hath begot a
 noble emula-
 tion, in his
 hopefull Suc-
 cessor.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

selfe. *Hinc ferrea Tempora Surgunt*---: wanting their Cherishers (those Heroicke Patrons) whose countenance in former times made the Studies of the Learned more pleasant (having their Labours by such approbation, seconded.) Yet in these times (*my Honourable Lord*) we may find some royall Seedes of pristine Nobility (wherin we may glory) reserved, as it were, from so great ruines, for the preservation of Learning, and the continuance of all vertuous Studies; amongst w^{ch} your *Noble Selfe*, as generally reputed learned, so a profest friend to Such as be studious of Learning: a character which ever held best correspondency with honour, being a favorite to them who can best define

fine

The Epistle Dedicatory.

fine honour: expressing to the life, what proprieties best concord with so exquisite a Maister-piece.

It is observed, that all the *Roman* Emperours were singular in some peculiar *Art, Science, or Mystery*: and such of the *Patricians* as could not derive their native descent (wth the particular relation of their *Ancestours most noble Actions*) were thought unworthy to arrogate any thing to themselves by their *Vertues*. These *Romanes* were truely *Noble*, bearing their owne *Annals* ever with them, eyther to caution them of what was to be done, or excite them to prosecute what was by them commendably done: nor knew they *Honour* better limned, or more exactly proportioned, then

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then when it was beautified by the
internall Ornaments of the Mind.
Many I know (*my good Lord*) whose
greatnesse is derivative from their
Ancestours unto themselves; but
much Eclipsed by their owne de-
fects: and *Plants* which had a *No-
ble-Grafter*, use now and then to de-
generate. But so apparant is *Your*
Lustre, it borroweth no light but
from *your-Selfe*; no eminence but
from the *Lampe of Your Honour*;
which is ever ready to excite the
Vertuous to the undertaking of
labours wel-meriting of their *Coun-
tre*y, and generally profitable to all
Estates. In Subjects of this nature
(*my Honourable Lord*) I cannot find
any more exact then these *Surveies*
of Histories; many we have depra-
ved:

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ved: and every lascivious *Measure* now becomes an *Historian*. No study in his owne nature more deserving, yet more corrupted none is there. O then, if those ancient *Romans* (*Mirroures of true Resolution*) kept their *Armidastra* with such solemnity, feasts celebrated at the *Surveyes of their weapons*: We that enjoy these *Halcyon dayes of Peace and Tranquillity*, have reason to reserve some Time for the solemnizing this *peaceable Armour of Histories*; where we may see in what bonds of Duty and Affection we are tyed to the *Almighty*, not only in having preserved us from many hostile incursions, but in his continuing of his love towards us. We cannot well dijudicate of comforts

A

but

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but in relation of discomforts: Nor is *Peace* with so generall acceptance entertained by any, as by them who have sustained the extremities of *Warre*. Many precedent experiments have we had, and this Isle hath tasted of misery with the greatest; and now revived in her selfe, should acknowledge her miraculous preservation, as not proceeding from her owne power, but derived from the *Supream* influence of *Heaven*; whose power is able to *Erect*, *Support*, *Demolish*, and *lay wast*, as he pleaseth: *Hinc Timor*, *Hinc Amor*! Hence wee have arguments of *Feare* & *Love*! *Feare* from us to *God*; *Love* from *God* to us: Cause we have to *Feare*, that subject not our understandings

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things to the direct *Line* and *Square* of *Reason*, but in our flourishing *Estate* (imitating that once renowned *Sparta*) who was --- *Nunquam minus felix, quam cum felix visa* ---; Abuse those excellent gifts we have received, contemning the menaces of *Heaven*, and drawing upon our selves the *viols* of *Gods* *wrath*, heavier diffused, because longer delayed. We should re-collect our selves, and benefit our ungratefull minds with these considerations: that our *present felicity* be not buried in the ruins of a *Succeeding Calamity*.

These *Histories* (*my noble Lord*) be the best representments of these motives. And in perusing *Discourses* of this *nature* (next to the

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Sacred Word of God) we are strangely transported above humane apprehension, seeing the admirable Foundations of *Common-weales* planted (to mans thinking) in the Port of security, wonderfully ruined: grounding their dissolution upon some precedent crying sinne, which layd their honour in the Dust, and Translated their *Empire* to some (*perchance*) more deserving people. Here *Civill Wars*, the Originall causes of the *Realmes* subversion: There *Ambition* bred by too long successe: here *Emulation* in *Vertue*, the first *Erectresse* of a flourishing *Empire*: There *Parasites*, the *Scarabees* of *Honour*, the corrupters of *Royally disposed affections*, and the chiefest *Engi-
neres*

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neres of wrack and confusion, buzzing strange motions in a Princes Eare, occasioning his shame, and their owne ruine. Here States happy, before they rais'd themselves to the highest type and distance of happinesse. And generally observe we may in our *Humane Compositions*, nothing so firme as to promise to it selfe *Constancy*, so *continue* as to assure it selfe *perpetuity*, or under the *Cope of Heaven*, any thing so solid as not subject to *Mutability*.

This *Survey*. (my Lord) have I presumed to *Dedicate* to your *Honour*, (sprung from a zealous and affectionate tender) not for any meriting *Discourse* which it comprehends, but for the generality

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of the *Subject* : and Native
harmony wherein *Your Noble*
disposition so sweetely closeth
with it.

Your Protection will raise it a-
bove it *Selfe*, and make me proud
to have an *Issue* so highly *Patroni-*
zed: It presents it *Selfe* with *Feare*,
may it be admitted with *Favour*:
So shall my *Labours* be in all duty
to *Your Honour* devoted, my
Prayers exhibited, and
my *selfe* confirmed

Your Lordships
wbolly,

Ri. Brathwait.

TO



TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE,
ELIZABETH, Dowager, Countesse
OF SOUTHAMTON;
The fruition of Her Divi-
nest Wishes.

From the Sacred Ashes
of your ever-Honour'd
Lord, whose Memory
lives in the hearts of
Men, while his better part shines
in the Courts of Heaven, is the
Breath and Birth of this Worke deri-
ved. At first addressed it was unto
Him living; and now presented to
Your-Selfe, the Vertuous Survivour
of

A Funerall
Elegy to his
precious me-
mory was
long since
extant; being
annexed to
my BRITAINS
BATH. Anno
1625.

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of Him. Nor can it expect ought
lesse from You then a New Life, who
so constantly retaines in You the me-
mory of his Love. Jewels are va-
lued by their Lustre: Labours of this
nature by the Test, and approvement
of the Reader. Deagne, Madam,
to accept it, for his Sake, who did so
highly prize it: So shall Your
Honour ever oblige him,
whose vowed zeale
bath really con-
firm'd him

Your Ladiships in all
humble observance,

Ri. Brathwait.

TO

To the Understanding READER.




O many idle Pamphleters Write to Thee now a dayes, as thy understanding (in my Judgment) seemes much disparaged. I have ever resolved to have this Motto : *Catoni solus dormio* : But where that *Cato* is, there's the difficulty. Hee is too heavy for the Court, too Wise for the City, and too precise for the Countrey. If my Booke chance to finde him, I know my Subject shall be entertained, and my Petition shall be heard, for, *Auriculos Asini non habet*. — To give my Labour but impartiall censure.


How studiously, copiously and usefully this *last Edition* hath beene Enlarged, may appeare by *Digits* or *Signatures* in the Margent every where expressed. Understand thy selfe, *Reader*, and thou understands me: If thou battle at Ordinaries, thou art not for me, thou hast thy Wit in the Platter: for I never knew him wise, that only delighted to

Fare well.

R. B.



An Exact Table, or Compendiary; no
lesse plainly then briefly directing to all such
Subjects, Stories, Historicall and Poëticall Relati-
ons; with all other intermixt Discourses ma-
terially and Methodically contained and
continued in this SURVEY Of HI-
STORY, OR NURSERY for
GENTRY.


HE Author Methodically brancheth these his *Historicall Relations* into a three-fold Division.

1. Scope of Histories.
2. Fruit of Histories.
3. The profit redounding to private Families by Histories.

What the *Scope* of all *Historicall* Discourse should be. pag. 1b.

A full Survey of what has beene done, with a comparable Relation of what is now done; by conferring persons and Actions preceeding, with these now in present enjoying, becomes an excellent benefit redounding from *History* to retired *Spirits*. pag. 4.

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Those most fit to governe derations, who have power to mo are

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Use of *Transcriptories*. p. 27.

A memorable *Caveat* for all corrupters of *Justice*. pag. ib.

What honour the *Worlds Monarch* did to *Homer*. pag. ib.

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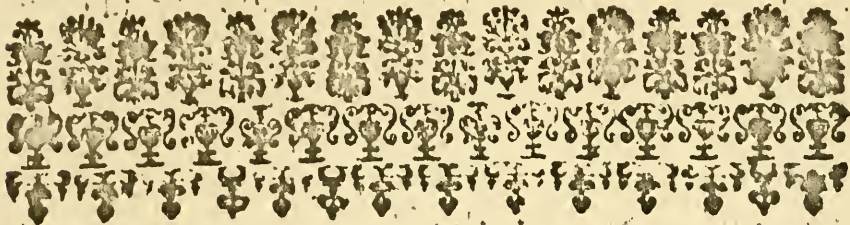
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Imprimatur THO. WYKES R. P.
 Episco. Lond. Capell. Domest.
 MARCH 26. 1638.

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A
SURVEY
-OF HISTORY:
OR,
A NURSERY for the
GENTRIE.



IN the SURVEY OF HISTORIES, the true Relators of things done; with a probable Collection of things to come, by precedent events: I thought good compendiously to contract some especial Caveats, as well for observance in Histori- call Discourses, as for prevention of such incon- veniences (or exorbitances rather) as happily might occurre in such Narrations. First there- fore I have propounded to my selfe this Method, (by way of inference) to Describe the true scope

A three-fold Division,

I. Scope of Historica

2. Fruit of
Histories.

3. The profit
redounding to
private fami-
lies by Histo-
ries.

at which all Histories ought to ayme, and to which, they should principally be directed. Secondly, to distinguish of severall uses and Fruites of Histories: The end whereof being exactly set downe, a dijudicating power may easily collect from what Subject the choicest and selectedst Fruites may be deduced. Thirdly, the profit which redounds to every State, either Aristocraticke, Democraticke, or Monarchicke, by the true and understanding use of Histories.

THE true use and scope of all Histories ought to tend to no other purpose, than a true Narration of what is done, or hath beene atchieved either in Forraigne or Domesticke affaires; with a modest Application (for present use) to caution us in things Offensive, and excite us to the management of imployments in themselves generous, and worthy imitation.

For the true description of History, as it hath ever beene held the *Treasury of Time*, in which were laid up and deposited the Actions and glorious Exploits of preceding *Worshies*: As wee would be very loath, that any Evidence importing our private estates, should be either diminished or darkened: so much more, in what might consequently tend to the prudent mannagement of publicke Estates, to suffer the least obscurity, would argue in us either an apparant dis-esteemme of our Pradeecessors actions, or a remisnesse in our selves, to neglect so spreading or propagating

a Seminary; which, as former times recommended to our care, so should it be our care by a discreet circumspection, to preserve.

Let us then reflect a little upon the *Utility* of it, besides those incomparable delights, which to a modest and serious judgement, are highly reputed.

First, should these *Annals* perish, what more could the merit or improvement of Vertue gain to her selfe, but what the injury of Times usually throws upon deserving personages, *Oblivion*? No difference betwixt the desperate attempts of an impiously-audacious, and odiously-perfidious *Cateline*, and a noble State-affecting *Vtican*. Nay, we should lose those Eminent Types and Copies of all imitable Morality, should wee in rubbish bury the Surviving Records of *History*. We shall heere see, what even Morall Naturall men observed, and how constantly they stood in defence of what their glorious lives have proposed. No danger so apparant, no threat so truculent, no Opponent so over-awing or violent, which could weaken their Resolves, or make them Recreants to their just Designes. The whole progresse of their Lives, as it was a continued Line, whose period ever closed with Honour: so were their Deaths no lesse memorable, and in their *setting* sent forth the best lustre.

How sweetly then relish these Discourses to a retired Spirit? who, withdrawne from employment either through infirmity of Age, weaknesse of Health, or dis-respect of Time, may take a

An excellent
benefit re-
dounding frō
History to re-
tyred Spirits.

full Survey of what ha's beene done; with a comparable Relation of what is now done: and so by conferring Persons and Actions preceding, with those now in present enjoying; may collect the vicissitude of times, and become an Agent by reading, what they could not aspire to by personall action.

And with what easie sweetnesse may this be acquired? With what a pleasing privacy purchased? They need not expose themselves to the perills of a feare-surprized Campe; nor the surging billows of a raging Ocean: Their private Arbour may be their Centinell; no Alarmes to disturbe them, no feares within, nor foes without to distemper them. And having taken a full and free perusall of former States, with the strange grounds of their rising, and their unexpected *Catastrophes* in their declining: what singular uses may they propound to themselves, by consideration had to the mutable and anxious Conditions of all times: seeing how even those Republicks, which promised to themselves most security, were enforced to runne into other channells, and to have their memories drowned in them, when they had mounted to the highest pinne and pitch of Felicity: And these to discourse of with a confident judgement, as if they had beene Actors personally in these Scenes; what usefull knowledge may it beget to themselves, what delight to their Hearers?

Secondly, should these memorable Records be lost, which have onely power to keepe men
alive,

alive, when seeming dead; and by the Revivall of their Actions, to produce in stirring spirits a desire of emulating their Vertues, the very forme and Method of ancient governments, whose platformes have not a little conduced to the managing and marthalling of present Estates, should be utterly razed and extinguished.

What excellent Law-givers have former Ages yeilded? what usefull Lawes have they enacted? How strongly these laboured, to preserve, what their care had studied and published? How strictly moderate became many States, which disceer Sobriety ever redounded to their succeeding glory?

Nor did they, though their darkned Judgements could never reach to a true and infallible conceit of *Eternity*; shew the least ostentation in the course or pursuite, of their Actions, or State-directions. Their desire was to expresse a real goodnesse, without erection of Statues, to immortalize them to after-ages. Honour they sought not, being conferred on them unsolicited, and disvalued by them, when freely offered. These *Histories* commend, and tender them to our observation, as *Morall Presidents* deserving our imitation.

Can we then eye these, and conceive no desire of rectifying ourselves? Shall *Morall* men, who confined their hopes to *Elizian Chymers*; strip us, who retaine in us higher hopes, and make *Eternity* our Sphære? Shall we perute these without a glowing blush, when we consider what

This that Imperiall State of Congo, had she beene sensible of her owne wants, might have perceived, who keeps no *Histories* of their ancient Kings, nor any remembrance of the Ages past, because they are not written. They are generally by the *Magones*; they know not the *Hours* of the Day, nor of the night; but they use to say in the time of such a *Mar*, such a thing happened.

beamlings of a divine Intellect darted themselves on these, in comparison of that pure Diaphanical light which so gloriously shines upon us?

He described *History* in a just modell and proportion, who term'd it *the very Picture, Embleme, or Mirror of Mankind*: wherein are to be scene the perplexities and perills of Empires, and of the *Church its self*: upon Survey whereof, and an equall reflexe to our selves, we may learne how to demean us in a modest way, both in respect of a civill Society, and politick government, as likewise in the Church Militant; especially, by taking notice of our owne and others infirmities, bethinking alwayes of this, how that Divisions from what Origen or Source so ever they spring, are not so soone quenched; and how for the most part, long continued Warres, and mutations of States are successively derived from one breach. These, former times have ever observed; and by their Observations happily succeeded. They made use of *Histories*, as principall directions for State-government. They collected what was imitable, and they reduced them to use. They found no State so secure from foes abroad, or feares within, as it felt not many times the hostile incursion of the one, as well as the private intrusion of the other. This made them more secur'd, because others mishaps kept them from holding themselves too secure. They observed the occasions of rising States, with the probable reasons of their decline. They found a period to the most flourishing Empires, and gath'ed thence,

Melanct. in E-
pist. ad tert.
Lib. Chron. Ca-
tion.

vid. B. in Orig.

thence, (with a free and ingenuous acknowledgment, their dependance upon another more absolute independent power;) no policy nor humane providence could divert, what that Divine Sovereignty had decreed.

This the prudent'st and powerfull'st have seene instanced, and in this Worlds Theatre presented, and in the discovery of them have trembled. Foolish wisdom they found in whatsoever was humane: when many times, their owne strength became the ruine of their State; by converting their owne powers, and turning the edge of their owne Swords upon their owne bleeding Intralls; as if they had aymed at nothing more, than to lay their owne Provinciall honour in the Dust, and to raise a new fabricke of Estate to some other surreptitious Nation. What variety of Examples, Stories will afford us of this nature, I appeale to the Candid and impartiall Judgement of any pure or uncorrupted Censor.

Againe, to take a view of the mutable condition of all States; and how Victorious Princes, whose Motto's seemed to vie with the Herculean *Non ultra*; became eyther personall Actors of their owne Tragedies, or visible Spectators of their unexpected miseries: And therein more unhappy, because once happy, would afford no lesse matter of admiration, then motives of compassion. *Misbridates* that invincible Prince and incomparable Artist, even Hee, who had discomfitted in divers set battailes, *Lucius Crassus*, *Oppius Quintus*, and *Manius Acilius*, being at
last

last overcome by *Scylla*, *Lucullus*, and utterly by *Pompey*, for all his Infinite Treasure in *Talaris*; those many Confederate Princes which admired his Valour, interposing themselves to prevent his danger, and the ample boundiers of his Kingdome so largely extended; had for all this, his body (the poore remainder of so great glory) buried at the charge of the *Romans*, being sent by *Pharmaces* in Gallies to *Pompey*.

Nor shall we have onely here presented as in a Chrystalline Mirror, these Tragicke Disasters of eminent Princes, whose falls, as they were steps to others rising, so were they excellent Lectures of Instruction to all ambitiously aspiring; but likewise the infelicity of such who adhered to them: yet, behold the misery of Greatnesse! Neither could others miseries informe them, nor their precipitious falls caution them, nor those numerous Instances of mutability recall them. Diadems were more attractive Objects than to be lost through feare, or rejected for a powerfull Competitor. Sovereignty is a taking baite; yet is it ever accompanied with hopes and feares. This caused *Antonies* Angel to be affraid of *Obolus* Angel.

Albeit, some, whose solid Judgments or bitter Experience had wrought deeper impressions in their composed tempers, were so farre alienated from this conceit of admiring Greatnesse, or titular State, as they conceived nothing more miserable than to be so furcharged. *Seleuchus* being King, and one of an extensive power, was

wont

wont to say, that if a man knew with what cares a Diadem was clogged, he would not take it up though it lay in the Streete.

When the *Romans* had despoiled *Antiochus* of all *Asia*, he gave them great thanks, saying, they had rid him of many insupportable cares.

This princely compoſure of affections wrought no leſſe effects upon *Diocleſian*, who voluntarily relinquished the flouriſhing Empire in the world.

Nor can we eſteeme any perſon more truly deſerving Honour, than he, who can with a compoſed minde and cheerefull affection, as if he were ingaged to no ſuch glorious yoke, ſuffer himſelfe to forgo it, and retaine ſtill the ſame ſpirit, when in the eye of the World he ſeemes moſt dejected. A Philoſopher perceiving *Dionyſius* to ſit merrily in the Theater, after hee was expulſed his Realme, condemned the people who baniſhed him: Holding thoſe more fit to governe States, who could moderate their affections, attemper their paſſions, and diſcover a cheerefull countenance in troubled waters.

Neither were many of thoſe ancient Heroës, ſo much tranſported with an ambitious deſire of Sovereignty, as they were with the apprehenſion of a glorious Victory. This made that fluent, but affective Orator, ſo much enlarge himſelfe, in the recitall of thoſe noble and memorable actions done by *Themistoctes* and *Epaminondas*: which he continues in this ample Memoriall to their ſucceeding glory. “The Sea ſhall ſooner over-

D

whelme

Thoſe moſt fit to governe Nations, who have power to moderate their naturall paſſions

Cle. Tuſc.
Queſt. lib. 1.

"whelme the Ile it selfe of *Salamine*, than it
 "shall drench the remembrance of the *Salamine*
 "Tryumph; and the Towne of *Leuctra* in *Boetia*
 "shall sooner be razed, than the remembrance
 "of the Field there fought, forgotten; exempli-
 "fide in the prowesse of *Themistocles* and *Epa-*
 "minondas.

Their aymes were confin'd to their owne
 Fame, or Countries Renowne: their ambition
 was not to governe, but to conquer; as others of
 more remisse and retardate spirits, rather to go-
 verne than conquer: which diversity of dispositi-
 ons may be found portrayed to life upon the *Sur-*
vey of History.

So as, it pleased the Orator to call *History* the
 Glasse, or Mirror of mans life; charactering the
 whole compassse of this Universe; the states of
 Princes, events of Warres, conquests of renown-
 ed Captaines, even all Designes, either publick
 or private, by a succinct Description, or Map ra-
 ther, expressing every particular Affaire: and
 what (as a worthy Historian hath observed) can
 be imagined more worthy admiration, then in a
 safe and retired Port, in the Harbour of secure
 Rest, in our private Reposes, to see there a Prince
 beleagured with many Hostile Opponents,
 straight by miraculous meanes defeating them,
 and by his owne policy, (the supreme purpose of
 the Almighty) to plant himselfe in tranquility,
 where (as farre as humane Apprehension could
 reach) neug! t but imminent ruine could be ex-
 pected: there a City by wise and discreet govern-
 ment

ment, wonderfully preserved: here amidst concealing or shadowing rather of the Conquerours exploits by his moderation in conquering, implies how he could beare his fortunes, if he were conquered. We may read no State in her selfe so secure, but may be shaken; exemplified well in *Rome*, the Governesse of ample Territories, and now made subject to those which were her subjects: No Prince of so prosperous employments, so successiue proceedings, or generall forces, but either vanquished at home or abroad: abroad by forraigne powers, or at home by his owne illimited affections; instanced in that great and potent Prince of *Macedon*, who (though Prince of the whole world) could not play Prince of his little world, being flaved to distempered passions. No City but sore harassed, if not razed. Nor could that Italian *Tryacala* (which taking her denominated from the *Greeke*, comprehends all beauty) stand against the injury of Time, or withstand the battry of all assaults, which makes me taxe that City of Arrogance, (whereof *Hyppolitus* speaketh in his Booke of the *Increase of Citties*) upon the gates whereof was this Impresse ingraven, *Intacta manet*. To see these States so well and lively decooured, cannot conferre lesse delight (being grounded on Vertue, where all true and perfect delights bee seated) than the Relation of the *Troian* Affaires (being made by so excellent and experimented an Historian as *Ithacus*) delighted that chaste *Greeke Penelope*: *Thesens* Travels: *Ariadne*, or *Alcides* Labours

The Citties
Motto t. yu-
phant.

bours *Omphale*. But to the use of History.

History being a Mint of profit and delight, the seasoning of more serious studies, the Reporter of cases adjudged by event, the enterlude of our haps, the image of fortune, the compendiary director of affaires, the representer of humane successè, the infallible character (by colation had with things past, and things to come) of succeeding events : should not aime at lascivious stories, amorous subjects (unlesse by way of digression to smooth a serious discourse with a modest insertion of mirth) but to prosecute the argument of the History without frivolous Ambages, or impertinent circumstances. Affectation ill becomes an Historian : For he should understand what office he supports ; not any thing drain'd from his owre invention, but to performe the charge of a sincere relation. I approve of his opinion that thought, Invention to be least needfull to an Historian, but Disposition more than to any. It is sufficient for an Historian to expresse what he hath read or seene, truly, without concealing any thing, in partiall respect to any person, making truth the period of his discourse. The Philosopher thought a poore man was not to be an Historian : for necessity would inferre him to temporise and observe humors : Nor a rich man, for he had his eye fixed upon his estate, and durst not un-rip great mens errors, lest he should lose by his labours. But I disapprove his censure, and refell it with anothers opinion of the same sect : *Si dives, de fortunis & infor-*

*infortunij scribat, sic enim utriusque fortuna sortem
 æquius ferat. Si pauper, de fortunis scribat, ut cum
 eas attigerit, melius eas regat & teneat.* The error
 of judgement should not be appropriated either
 to want, or eminence of fortune: for so should we
 subject the inward to the outward, the intellectu-
 all power to the externall varnish, preferring the
 eye of the body before the light of the minde.
 Yet to intermeddle in estates, so much as to dis-
 able them (by extenuating their powers) lessening
 their revenewes, or ecliping their pristine honor
 and eminence, by mentioning some insuccessive
 events they have had by warre, or other occur-
 rents, I wholly disallow it; proceeding either from
 private envy to the State, or from malevolent
 nature (unfitting for so good a professor) apt to
 sting all, because an enemy to himselfe and all.
 States should not be layd too open: but when oc-
 casion serves to describe the seates of Countries,
 Regions, &c. or to touch the manners and condi-
 tions of inhabitants, how they live, and to
 what trades most inclined, with whom they have
 commerce, or the like, will not derogate any
 thing from the *Scope* of an *History*, or any way
 imply a digression. It is thought (and that by the
 Authentickst Historians) that *Cæsar*, by the de-
 scription of *Volaterranus*, which he made of *Brit-
 taine*, declaring how the people were savage, and
 unapt for military discipline; the places of de-
 fence unprovided: and then shewing how fruit-
 full the whole Island was, replenished with all ne-
 cessaries, was induced to take his expedition into

Britaine, and to conquer it, though prevented by a *Britus*, who, to rid *Rome* of his tyranny, restored poore *Britaine* to her liberty, for his journey was stayed by Death.

Albeit, what sovereignty the Romans had in this Island, may appeare by those numerous Cohorts, Colonies, and Regiments disposed and dispersed throughout most places of consequence in this Kingdome. Besides those many different Coines, Monumentall inscriptions, ancient Sculptures and Impressures, all which confirme their long reside, command and plantation with us.

Antiquities of this kinde are very frequent, especially in the Northerne parts; where sundry sorts of Mettalls, Stones, with much Art and Curiosity ingraven, are oft-times found in the ruines of some demolished Fort, or turn'd up with the plough-share; as an Urne, proportioned to the ancient Ovall forme, was lately found neare to the Borough-Towne of *Kendall*: wherein were bones, some solid, others turn'd to ashes; all whice imply what neare society, and continued correspondance they held with us.

Nor should I with more free election or affectionate devotion, recommend any Stories to the Survey of our *Gentry*, than these, which informe them in the knowledge of their owne Soile: wherein they shall finde many memorable Relations, worthy their observance and retention. For, albeit we esteeme him no man of Travaile, unlesse he hath travers'd forraigne Countries, and conversed with them both in their Language and Manners:

In which
parts of
the
island

Manners; yet shall I ever hold this for an undoubted positive Doctrine; that should wee finde a man who had enter'd commerce with the whole World, could discourse of the diversity of all Tongues, and returne their proper distinct Idioms: yea, such an one, as had ingratiated himselfe by his Gentile gaite in the affection of all Estates; and in a polish'd formall discourse could tell you, how hee had scene *Judas'es* Lanterne at *St. Dennisses*, the *Ephesian Diana* in the *Louure*, the great Vessell at *Heidelberg*, the *Amphi-Theatre* at *Vlissmos*, the *Pyramids* of *Egypt*, with the incredible manner of their *Obits*, the *Stable* of the great *Mogol*, or the *Solemnities* of *Mecha*: yet were all these generall Notions of forraigne States uselesse, being estranged from the knowledge of his owne Native Soile. Yea, should hee enlarge his discourse in all these, by expressing himselfe in such a Dialect, as might deservingly beget an Admiration in the Hearer, yet descending to his owne, and shewing himselfe most ignorant, wherein hee should be best experienc'd, he could merit no lesse than just reproofe: in so undervaluing his owne, as to publish himselfe sufficiently read in all places but at home. An English fault I must confesse; whose condition it is to admire nothing more, nor with an eagen affectation to pursue ought more, than the fancies and shadows of Strangers: Whose fashions bee they never so unbesceiming, they cannot want our imitation, because introduced by a strange Nation. These resemble Painters, whose Art

it

it is to make faces, but to forget their owne.

Nor is it my purpose in this, to taxe the commendable Travailes of such, who with much danger and hazard have improved their owne knowledge, and benefited others by their undertakings in assaies of this nature. Travaile I know to be the most accomplished ornament of a Gentleman: enabling him both for businesse and discourse: but to travaile so farre from our owne, as to make our selves strangers to what neareliest concernes us, argues a neglect in our selves, by a contempt or dis-esteeme of our owne.

Wee shall read in all Records of antiquity, with what heate and height of desire, all such persons as interess'd themselves in compiling any Historicall relations, ever pitcht upon description of their owne Countreys: with a continuati- on of such Heroick acts, exployts, and designes, as might conferre a deserving lustre upon her. Meane time, it was not the least of their care to bestow an impartiall penne in the deblazon of every person or action. Their greatest ambition was, to magnifie truth: to cloath vertue with her owne native habit, and discover the deformity of vice, were the subject never so eminent, where- of they wrote.

Ladies much
addicted both
to perusing &
compiling of
Histories.

Neither were these Tasks onely for masculine *Spirits*: for many eminent Ladies were usuall- y vers'd in these studies, to their honours, and the admiration of their Successors. *Zenobia* after the death of *Odonatus* her deare spouse, though a Barbarian

Barbarian Queene, yet by her reading of both Romane and Greeke Histories, so managed the State after the decease of her husband, as shee retained those fierce and intractable people in her obedience : and in a Princely privacy reserving some select houres for perusall of History, which held good correspondence with her Majesty, she abridged the *Alexandrian*, and all the *Oriental* Histories : a taske of no lesse difficulty than utility, whereby she attained the highest pitch of wisdom and authority. The like inward beauty might be instanced in many other eminent Personages of that Sexe; whose excellent composures in this kinde survive the vading period of time; as that vertuous *Cornelia*, mother to the victorious *Gracchus*; who, as she was an Exemplar or Mirrour of goodnesse and chastity, so by the improvement of her Education to her children, she exprest her selfe a noble Mother, in seasoning their unriper yeares in the studies of History, Poesy, and Philosophy. Next her, *Portia*, *Brusus* his wife, *Cleobula*, daughter to *Cleobulus* one of the seaven Sages of *Greece*. The daughter of *Pythagoras*, who after his death governed his Schoole; excelling in all Historicall discourses, which wee here so much commend; and afterwards erecting a Colledge of Virgins, she became governesse or guardinesse over it. What shall I say of *Theano* daughter to *Metapontus*, a disciple of the same Sect? What of *Pemone*, who first gave life to an Heroicke Verse : and in exquisite compo-

sures recounted the memorable actions and occurrents of her time? what of *Sulpitia, Calenus* his wife, who left behind her most soveraigne precepts touching wedlocke, with the relations of that age, in a most proper and elegant stile? And *Hortensia* daughter to that most famous Orator *Hortensius*, who for copiousnesse of speech, gravity or weight of sentence, gave a living luster to her lines, a succeeding fame to her workes? And *Edeſa* borne at *Alexandria*, one of such learning, sweetnesse of disposition, as she was highly admired by those that lived in her time: and amongst other excellences, singularly read in Histories; then held a study worthy the entertainment of noblest Ladies? And *Corinnathia*, who is reported to have surpassed the Poet *Pindarus* in artfull and exact composures: contending with him five severall times, as may be probably gathered by the testimonies of the ancient, for the Garland or Coronet, usually bestowed upon such glorious followers and favourites of the Muses? And *Paula, Seneca's* wife, a Matron not onely improved by his instructions, but highly enriched by the benefit of her owne proper studies: ever reserving some choyce houres for the perusal of such relations as either in those or preceding times had occurred. So as, we may very well collect, whence the ground of her husbands sorrow proceeded, in bewailing the ignorance of his mother, not sufficiently seasoned in the precepts of his Father: by reflecting upon the abilities of his *Paula*, whose discourse either for History

story or Morall Philosophy, appeared so genuine and proper, as her very name conferred on her family a succeeding honour. Lastly (that I may not insist too long on these feminine Mirrors, lest they should taxe some of our Moderne Ladies, of ignorance with other temporary errors) *Argentaria Pollia*, wife to the Heroicke *Lucan*, is said to have assisted him in the apt composure of his Verses: being no lesse rich in fancy, than he himselfe when most enlivened by a Poëticall fury. Nor did she restraine her more prosperous studies onely to dimensions, being no lesse conversant in Historiall relations, than Poëticall raptures.

These, as they excelled not onely the most of their Sex, but the eminent'st personages of their time in a judicious and serious discussion of the fruits and benefits of *History*: so they deserve to succeeding times a just renuall of their memory: yea, some of their workes wrought singular effect in the most remisse and pusillanimous spirits of that time. For as in a Table we eye his feature, whom we doe here honour; whose representation conveighes to our heart a vehement desire of imitation, of whatsoever we know imitable in him: So *History*, the exact mappe or discovery of humane affaires; personates to us in lively colours, the modell of preceding times, with the dispositions of such persons as flourished in those times: which Survey begets in a manly spirit, an eager pursuit of their actions: considering, how fame is the constant guardon

of resolution. For as *Themistocles* walked in the night time in the open street, because he could not sleepe: the cause whereof when some men did inquire, he answered that the fame-dispersed triumph of *Miltiades* would not suffer him to take his rest: So the relation of others actions begets a glorious emulation in every noble spirit.

Cic. Tus. lib. 4

And (doubtlesse) there is nothing which inflames the minde of man more unto valour and resolution, than the report of the acts of their Ancestors, whose monuments remaining of record with this impresse: *Non norunt hac monumenta mori*, must needs stirre up in them a desire of imitation.

Many examples I could produce herein, as the Trophies of *Miltiades*, inducements of imitation to *Cesar*: the acts of *Achylles* to *Alexander*, of *Vlysses* to *Telamon*, of the Greeckish Heroes to *Prymalcon*, of *Danaus* to *Linceus*, *Ageus* to *Theseus*. Many times (wee read) where a naturall defect and want of courage was seated, even a retrograde from the sphere of valor, there (though a barren seed-plot to worke on) by Historicall discourse hath magnanimity shewne her selfe in more perfect and reall colours, than if nature her selfe had implanted in that man a Native desire to fight; so powerfull is History in her selfe, where nature in her selfe expresseth small power. This discourse therefore should not bee employed in any thing save in excitements to Glory, motives to warlike designs; since by it va-
lour

our is quickned, a desire of honour inflamed, Countries same dispersed, and monuments of never-dying glory erected: O then, who should so disallow the precious treasure of a refined discourse, as to mixe it with impudent & scurrillous inventions; such fictions as are not onely in themselves fabulous, but to the unstaid Reader (of which sort we have too many) mortally dangerous? Which fables in my opinion fall among the impertinent & feigned Fables called *Milesia*; onely aiming at the depravation of manners, and the effeminating best-resolved Spirits. The ripenesse whereof (by such unseasoned discourses) become blasted before their time: O that the depravednes of these times should taint so generally approved study: making Histories meere Panygiricks (Poems of adulation) to insinuate & wind themselves into the affection of the Great, leaving the Scope of an Historian to gaine by their studious traffick.

But let us returne to the office of a good Historian: He will not write but upon singular Grounds, reasons impregnable; conferring with the best to make his narrations confirmed of the best: Hee writes the stories of Princes truely; without concealing their errors (by way of silencing them) or comment upon an History, annexing to it an unnecessary glosse. He will not be so engaged to any, as that he will be restrained of his *Scope*; or so countermanded, as that he must of necessity illustrate vice; vertue cannot passe without her character: A good Historian will alwayes expresse the actions of

Office of an
Historian.

good men with an Emphasis, to sollicite the Reader to the affecting the like meanes, whereby he may attaine the like end. This was the cause, all the noble *Heroës* in ancient time did leave to posterity their acts, to imitate: not so much for recording their owne memorable lives, as for the propagating their Countries eternall honour by succeeding Worthies. As those establishers of good and wholesome Lawes made themselves with their Countrey renowned: *Mynos* and *Radamanth* among the *Cretensians*; *Orpheus* among the *Thracians*; *Draco* and *Solon* in *Athens*; *Lycurgus* in *Lacedemon*; *Zamolxis* among the *Scythians*: Nor be Historians (if so the professors merit that stile) of lesse esteeme than the prudentest and most experienced Statists. For these direct every Senator in politicke affaires, by producing such as excelled in administration of justice; describing the very natures of such Lawes, and the causes why such Lawes were enacted to present times.

True it is, that experience hath begot wisdom, and memory as a Mother hath brought it forth. This might be instanced in nothing more to life than in these Heroicke *Actors*, and Historicall *Relators* of what is acted. The former by an experienc'd hand and resolute heart not onely contrives but achieves what may most conduce to the honour of his Countrey, and the succeeding renowne of his owne family. The latter becomes a serious, constant and competible *Record* to the former: by commending to writing

writing, whatsoever merited either approove-
ment, or might justly lay an aspersion of disho-
nour upon the undertaker. For as the definiti-
on of *History* is to bee circumscribed by no
straiter bounds, than these proper extensive attri-
butes; "The witness of times, the light of truth,
"the life of memory, and the messenger of
"antiquity; so are all memorable actions of pre-
ceding times by her to posterity recommended:
and these with the light of verity and perspecui-
ty to be cloathed; that the life of those actions
may bee better preserved, and antiquity in her
owne native, though naked habite, presented.

It is most certaine, that many excellent Patriots,
whose sole honour it was to advance their Coun-
tries glory, though by their owne ruine; prefer-
ring her quarrell before their owne lives, have
utterly refused to have any Statues erected in
their memory; holding *Virtue* in her owne pure
unblemished essence, to be a monument of more
perpetuity, than all materiall structures, lyable to
the period of time: yet did never any of them
withdraw themselves from being recorded in
these bookes of fame; accounting them *Earthly*
Elisiums, for memorizing their actions after
death, which crowned their names with tri-
umphall honours during life. Hence it was, that
Cicero mov'd *Lucius* (one of a dext'rous pennes,
and confirmed fame) to record his acts in his
writings: and *Plinius Junior* wished nothing more
than to be mentioned in the Histories of *Corne-
lius Tacitus*, because he did foresee their succeed-
ing memory.

Now

Now, to insist a little upon that rich and unvaluable Trafficke, which these our late-declining times have had with their predecessors: we shall finde; that as former States received much improvement by the relation and recollection of forraine Lawes, which being made, by a discreet use and reduction of them, more proper and peculiar, highly advanced those Municipall States where they became established: So even our own times, though refined, and by collection and collation of many Lawes, with election of the best, breathing nothing else than an absolute state of government, neede not to be ashamed to make use of some especiall Lawes enacted and duely executed by Ethnicks, both in meat, drinke, and attire.

For the first, the *Spartans* held it no derogation nor dishonour to them, to conforme themselves to the *Laconian* Order, strict, but healthfull, proportioning such a measure both for meat and drinke, as *Leffius* himselfe, had hee lived in those times, might have seene his owne physicall directions so punctually observed, that nothing could be to life better portrayed, than to behold to temperate-abstemious a course generally practised. And to deterre others from too loose and luxurious feeding; it was their care to erect sundry Statues or Images, to represent the fitall-fearofull ends of such, who expos'd themselves to riot.

As the feature of *Heliogabalus*, the effeminate *Sardanapalus*, the unbounded *Eriethous*, the insatiate

satiat *Cambletes*, whose infamous life clos'd it selfe
 with as ignominious a death: for this gluttonous
 Lydian King having in a Dreame devoured his
 wife, while she lay sleeping with him together in
 the same bed; and finding her hand betweene his
 teeth, when he awaked, he slew himselfe, fearing
 dishonour. Which Modells portrayed not one-
 ly to life, but explained by proper Impresses,
 wrought wonderfull effects in the taking Specta-
 tor. For as that Rhetoricall Improver of his
 Countrey, and Reviver of her Language, was
 wont to say; *There is nought that can bee taught
 without example*: whence it came to be a custome
 amongst the ancient *Lacedemonian* Fathers, to
 present their *Eliotes*, or slaves in solemne Festi-
 valls before their children, to act all their Obsce-
 nities by action, gesture, and every unseemely or
 undecent posture, to deterre them from Drun-
 kennesse, and other bestiall qualities incident to
 that vice.

Cicero.

Plutarch.

For the second, so cautious were former times
 of their Honour, and so fearefull lest they should
 darken that divine lustre of the intellect with that
 broad-spreading Tetter or Deluge of liquor:
Plato reports, that Kinswomen used to kisse their
 Kinswomen, to know whether they drunke
 Wine or no, and if they had, they were to be pu-
 nished by death, or banished into some Island.
Plutarch saith, that if the Matrons had any ne-
 cessity to drinke Wine, either because they were
 sicke or weake, the Senate was to give them li-
 cence, and that priviledge might not be admit-
 ted

ted in *Rome* neither, but out of the City. *Macrobius* affirms, that there were two Senators in *Rome* chiding; and the one called the others Wife an Adulteresse, and the other his Wife a Drunkard; and it was judged that to be a Drunkard was more infamy.

Such strong impression had their Lawes, and the life of those Lawes, which is Execution, wrought upon them, as nothing became more dishonourable than this odious vice; and Heavens grant, that it may be no lesse disrelished by us, who weare a far more glorious and honorable Cognisance than these *Ethnick*s ever attain'd to.

For the third, they hated nothing more than light-phantasticke habits: They were constant in their attire; their Trafficke was not to ingage their Countrey to forraine fashions; nor foole the State with Fowles feathers. It was not one of their least cares to prevent all occasions of too sumptuous apparell in persons of all conditions: but by all meanes, to reteine a seemely distinction or difference betwixt men of quality, and those of obscurer ranke. Yea, Histories will deliver to us what especiall observances were used in all these, with the penalties inflicted upon such delinquents as were refractory in any of these.

Now, a reflexe upon these, should induce us not onely to conceive all gorgeous attire to be the attire of sinne, but to observe that decent forme, or rule of distinction in our habit, that we may become exemplarie unto others, by making use of what we have read: never holding it any
derogation

* Ερδινε με ἀρ-
δριζα, πονδους
28 ἀπώλεσσι
divs. Eccles.
31.

derogation to receive any life of Instruction from others direction, though their Transcripts were onely Ethick, and shew'd not in them that fulnesse of beauty, which now so clearely shines upon us.

THESE Ages have beene, and are to this day, much indebted to Transcriptions. Inventions are oft-times slow, where the application of things invented to the present State seemes more facile and easie: Hereto then should the *Scope* of *Histories* tend; not onely to personate the Acts of men upon the Theater of this world, but likewise to cull out such Lawes, Orders, and Precepts, as well Morall as Divine, which may benefit their present estate. *Sysambrius* skin was a good caveat for succeeding Judges: Justice before went on crutches, and more were troubled with *Demosthenes* disease than with *Phoycions* bluntnesse. The Historian must not sow pillows to the elbowes of Magistrates, nor sooth corruption with an humour of shadowing vice: He shows what was done: and commends the one to reprehend the other. Vertue never wants her Character, nor vice her reproofe: For such Historicall Relations as induce to vertue, and deterre from vice, comprehend in them the true use of such subjects, being Apologeticall and Morall to reforme, not Mylesian or prophane, to deforme or disfigure the exact Symmetric of a vertuous Idiome. No marvell if *Alexander* laid the

Use of Transcriptions.

A memorable Caveat for all corrupters of Justice.

What honour the Worlds Monarch did to *Homer*.

workes of *Homer* under his head, being such as directed him to be a Head, how to governe Provinces, how to sway his inordinate affections; so as *Cleantes* Table (Vertues best elucidary) had her Liberall Sciences never better portrayed, than the differences 'twixt true Fortitude, and a foolehardy boldnesse were by *Homer* deblazoned. Here a *Hector*, badge of true valour; there an *Astenor*, whose gravity purchas'd him honour; there a *Diomedes*, no lesse wise than resolved; here a *Troilus*, stout enough, but unadvised; here warres well managed abroad, but lesse successive at home, exemplified in *Agamemnon*; there a subtile sconsfe, no lesse fraighted with policy than successe, in *Synon*. All these are expressed by that Heroick Historian.

*Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenus, ac melius Chryippo & Crantore dicit.*

These acts could not but minister sufficient matter of admiration to such Judicious Readers, as apprehended each circumstance in the subject; making that apt connexion of all, that the body might seeme more excellent, by the proportioning of every member.

Several fruits
of History.

Histories in themselves are diverse, producing severall fruits to the perusers, according to every mans affection: which made that Moderne Historian compare them to a Banquet, wherein
were

were to bee served severall dishes ; some to provoke appetite, others to satiate ; more delightfull subjects penned for relishing more serious studies ; graver discourses to ripen the understanding, by applying the instructions of forraigne States to our owne judgements: where we may make use of the best part of man (in his reasonable power) and that is Election: approving of what is good, or may in it selfe be beneficiall to the State: and slightly observing discourses of indifferency, as accomplements, ceremonies, circumstances, and the like, resembling faire frontispices which are made rather for ornament than use.

IT is necessary for a good Historian to have maturity of judgement, to apprehend what is fittest for his discourse, and to be as little complementall as may be, lest the varnish marre the worke ; for the words of an Historie in my opinion jumpe with *Mirandula:--Vt non sint lecta, ita nec neglecta* : the one implies a kind of dejection, the other a minde too curious to profit any, desiring onely to please himselfe. *Cesar* in his Commentaries, sheweth no lesse discipline in the Art of History, than in the discipline of Armes: using a stile as wel fitting a Souldier, as curiosity the smooth tongue of an Orator. It is true which was observed of him: *Si acta eius penitus ignorasses, per linguã tamen militem esse diceres*: Having neither his phrases too selected (as to shewa

Profit of History.

Si nescirem *Cæsarem, dicerem se militem.*

(singularity) or too neglected, to expresse a carelesse in his writing.

Now, to propose a forme of *style*, and what may best suite with the quality of an Historian; I will not arrogate so much to my selfe: onely let me in a word explode that which in the opinion of all such as have writ touching the *style*, carriage, or office of an Historian, deserves reproofe.

For an Historian than to use too polish'd or terse a *style*, or to play the *Orator*, when he should performe the office of a *Relator*, would not relish of discretion. Or to spinne out the webbe of his discourse in fruitlesse diversions, which rather perplexe the immazed Reader, than enlighten his understanding, implies either want of matter, or want of order. To goe on in a free and unaffected *style*; bescemes his person: proposing things done, as if they were ocularly presented: and albeit, it be not the happy fate of all Historians with the Princely *Caesar* and sincere *Comines*, to bee personally present at those Conquests or Discomfits whereof they write; yet by collections or intelligence many have composed, at least compiled excellent workes meriting no lesse improvement than if they had beene there in person present. And no doubt, though information cannot be so firme a ground to build upon, as a personall presentation of what is done: yet, being seriously intentive and solicitous from whose relations they receive intelligence; using likewise a seasonable deliberation

to try the issue or event thereof, before hee commit to publicke, what was delivered unto him in private : he may by his owne diligence, with other accommodations, perfect what hee intends, and incurre few obliquities.

I have knowne indeed, divers, who onely breathed their owne Countrey ayre : and never walked farther than their owne Pastures ; to have writ with much confidence of forraigne Scats, the government of their State, the barrenesse or fertility of their ground; the disposition of their inhabitants; their commerce with other nations. Their Lawes, Edicts, and Constitutions : all which by their industrious collection they have so laboriously reduced, so properly compiled, and and methodically digested, as not only the maine *Basis* or foundation whereon the whole Frame or Fabricke of their *History* subsisted, but the very circumstances, inferences, and illustrations confirm'd them Travellers in those Countries whereof they discoursed.

This I confesse is a great felicity in an *Author*, and deserves a just guerdon for his labour. Albeit, should any one unawares converse with any of these touching the Site, Degrees, or Temperature of any such Province they have described : how miserably would they wander, and commit more errors in one houres space with their tongue, than a whole yeare could rectifie with their penne? Relations of this nature are so got by th' Booke, as their Remembrancer failes, when he is removed from his booke.

Never-

Historians by
Intelligence
& perusal of
others Labours

Nevertheless, it is not to be doubted, but that most of our ancient Historians whether Greek or Latine, have received their best helps from others Labours: which may appeare by this, in that they wrote of such Persons and memorable actions as were many ages before their times. So as, not onely this distinct study of History, but generally all learning hath beene highly beholden to Transcriptions (as I formerly observed) for otherwise had the most eminent'st Labours in all ages perished.

It is to be admired, by what Divine providence the ancient Records of long-preceding times have beene preserved; especially, wanting those improving helps of Printing; which, with what facility of Art, and felicity of Invention, have beene of late yeares to all Christendome recommended, I leave to the judicious to conceive, and conceiving to admire that peculiar benefit.

The people of *China*, indeed retained as a memorable appropriate to their antiquity, a certaine forme of Cyphering, whereof their impolith'd Art expressed some notions by stamps and impressions: but these were onely of use unto themselves, being so intricate and obscure, as it had beene a fruitlesse labour to have communicated them to any other, save onely to their owne Natives, without a knowing Interpreter.

No doubt, but many excellent workes formerly composed by ancient Authors, with no lesse

The last chapter of the History of the Kingdome of *China*, printed in *Alacao*, the first Latine Booke that ever was printed in *China*, maketh mention of the Island *St. Lawrence* under the name of *Madagascar*: expressing in a proper phrase (the more to be admired in so illiterate a time) the Site, Distance, and Commodities of that place.

lesse industry than felicity, both for *Invention* and *Style*, have perished: which might be no lesse probably than authentically collected by divers memorable pieces lost both amongst the *Grecians* and *Romans*. We make no question of *Hortensius* Eloquence, and that divers workes of his by the injury of time, have received that too common fate to Learning, extinction.

Cordus, an impartiall and uncorrupt Historian; one who suffered for the Integrity he professed: reteining ever that honest resolution, that though the generall corruption of that time might truely conclude with *Martial*:

Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus erit.

He ever scorned to comply with Time, or feed the humour of an imperiall Libertine, or licentious Governor. This man, I say, or man of men, expressed his courage most, when those vitious and depraved times appeared worst. Yet, no doubt, many of those select and approved Labours which he had so seriously compiled, and to an Historiall Method reduced, remaine now obscured. Many inimitable workes not onely in their *Embrio*, but brought to their full height and accretion, were written by that matchlesse *Cesar*, whereof wee have now scarce any semblance remaining. And whence proceeded this *Tester* to Learning, but from the want of that which we in so accurate manner enjoy, the benefit of *Printing*? The tediousnesse of Transcri-

Divers memorable workes amongst the Ancient have perished, through want of Transcribing to posterity.

bing occasioned this injury; whereas, if the knowledge of the Presse had arrived there, all these inconveniences had beene prevented, those ancient Monuments of Learning, Martiall Experience, nay, of all *Liberall Sciences* had beene better preserved. Those poore *Arcadian* Shepherds, when they had no other meanes to continue the memory of their actions, or perpetuate their Loves, or recommend to posterity their Rurall Rapsodies, used to indorse their passionate Expressions in Rindes of Trees; which seemes pleasantly shadowed at by the Poet:

*Nomina passio-
res inscribunt
corticis laci;
Corticis quales-
sã, non peritu-
ra manent.*

*In barks of Trees Shepherds their loves in grav'd;
Which in the bole remain'd, when th' rinde was shav'd.*

So sollicitous were poore Swainlins to have the memory of their Pastoralls continued, as they used the best meanes they could to have them preserved.

Now, to us is a farre greater priviledge granted: our workes may be kept to posterity without any feare of so menacing an injury. Stamp't they may be with a firmer Impression, to continue their names to a succeeding generation. It rests, that as this benefit is conferred on us, we bestow our Oyle on such Labours as may conduce to the publick: reteining ever a vertuous scorne, to close in ought that may detract from goodnesse, or to smother vice in the visage of greatnesse.

It was a religious Fathers continue occasion of griefe, which hee expressed in many devout aspirations and pious teares, to recall to minde those

As wee have the benefit of Print, so are those workes to produce some benefit, which wee intend to Print.

Aug. Med. c. 4

those

those lighter and lesse consequent Studies, which his youth had affected, concluding with this passionate confession: "Those studies which I once loved, now condemne me; those which I sometimes praised, now dispraise me."

Let us reflect on this; and become discreetly cautious what we write; what peculiar study we address our selves to; that our yeeres of age may not blush when they peruse those *Follies in Folio* which our youth published.

True is that constant Maxime: *Iuventus inventioni, Senectus castigationi aptior*: How pregnant soever our wits be to invent; how rich soever our fancies be to conceit; how elegant soever our style to illustrate our discourse; if the *Subiect* tend not to the practice of Piety; but onely suite with the quality of the time, exposing our Lamps to lucre, or to procure unmerited honour; our riper houres will bring us to a censur, and discover our follies in their owne naked and native feature. As then, we value our honour, or shall labour to preserve our memory to a succeeding age: let nothing passe under our Pen, nor receive life from our Conceit, but what with a discreet confidence we are assured of, that it may afford much benefit to that private or publick state to which it is addressed: and by a propagating power beget much profit in a conceiving Reader.

It is an observable note, which one experienc'd in assaies of this kind, sometimes said, and to our present purpose properly applyed: "It is hard when the world shall shew mine infirmities

ties under mine owne hand, said that knowing *Roman*. The way to free us from occasionall censure, is to conceale our selves from the world, who is many times a *Lynceus* to the lightest error. *Lateat hac una salus*, was wise *Ithacius* his counsell to perplexed *Andromache*; and mine shall be the same to every Author, in this censorious Maze of opinionate phrensie. Now to the election of our Style.

The Records of things done, commended to posterity, should not be enrolled, as the *Chaldees* did their *Hieroglyphicks* in Cyphers and intricate conclusions; but in words most significant, phrases modestly elegant, and discourse most pertinent. Here, by way of digression, let me touch the ridiculous labours, and unfruitfull travailes of such who passe the *Alpes*, trace uncoth places, Desarts, Promontories; for what end Heaven knows, save onely to wrest out a phantastick behaviour of superfluous wit, or to comment on others Travailes by way of dirision: These are such as upon their returne, publish what they have seene; some more than they have seene, which I tearme *Commenting Travellers*: others lesse than they have seene, (or at least the most impertinent) which I tearme *phantastick Travailers*. Such as lye on their Travaile, either doe it for admiration, or having run upō the adverse shelve of a deplored fortune, are enforced to invent strange things for the reliefe of their dejected estate. Such as publish lesse than they have seene, (omitting things of the greatest consequence, to satisfie our humors

humors with trifles) doe it to gaine pregnancy, or singularity rather of conceit : they talke not of the Acts of Princes, nor the Sites of Regions, the temperature of such Clymates, or any materiall discourse, but to shew an exquisite straine of wit, purchased by a little fruitlesse travell: they insert frivolous occurrents, borrowed, or (it may be) invented by their owne phantasticke braines. These misse the marke a good Traveller should aime at : they should observe Lawes in forraigne places, like a good *Lycurgus*, to transpose so glorious a freight to their owne Countrey. They should not (like our fashion-inventers, our Italianated Albionacts) so much observe what is worne on the body, as what habit best beseemes the nature and condition of their minde. Since flourishing Common-weales are then the highest, when in externall habilliments the lowest : for *Sparta* never flourished more, than when she conformed her State to the imitation of the *Laconians*. Many Realmes have we knowne to be miraculously protected, by meanes of experienced men : which experience they either received by Travell or Example : yea, many Empires (and those of anplest circumference) have beene reduced from a kinde of servitude within themselves, by experiments derived from a farre. For Travell, the excellent designs of *Sertorius*, *Eumenes*, *Marius*, and *Antonius*, may sufficiently confirme the profit to bee reaped thereby. For Example : We shall reade in all the Roman Annals, a certaine vehement desire in all the worthy

Use of travell
and example.

Imitation in
vertue.

Patritians of imitating whatsoever they perceived to bee worthy imitation in their predecessours; marking the events of their intendments, and collecting the goodnesse of the meanes by the prosperous successe in the end. These were worthy monumentall honours, that could not only imitate the vertues so transparant in others, but even exemplifie their memorable actions in themselves.

Wee are placed in the following Ages, but we scorne to follow the precedent times in their vertues, though expert enough in contriving politicke designs: the fabricke of our invention can dispose or transpose it selfe to any shape, any impression, for private gaine or advantage: but publicke affaires may be Advocates for themselves; they are a Merchandise too farre estranged from our affections; none will travaile to purchase their Countries peace: *Solons* we have few, that goe mad for their Countrey; but *Tarpeia's* we have too many, that are made with desire to betray their Countrey: Few Law-inacters, many Law-infringers: making wholesome Lawes, like *Tarandalas* webs, wickers for great ones to come through, but snarles for little ones to hold.

of Justice.

Those ancient Emblemes stood profest *Antipodes* to these injurious Spiders; whose desire is, that *Justice* may still hold her comparison with the *Celedonie* stone, which retaineth her vertue no longer, than it is rubbed with gold. There were certaine Images of Judges, by report con-
fir-

firmed, and to their full proportions, with proper Motto's annexed, anciently rendred; which were set up at *Athens*, (at that time the select Seat of the Muses) having neither hands nor eyes: implying, that Rulers and Magistrates, to whom the civill sword of justice was recommended, should neither be infected with bribes, nor any other way drawne from that which was lawfull and right.

Astrea, the goddesse of Justice, was portrayed before them; her ballance hanging in an equal scale. The least deviation from what was just, engaged the purple delinquent to an heavy censure. And this confirmed by the just and irrevocable decree of highest Emperours. *Severus* would have smock'd such sellers of smooke. *Zerxes* would have pulled their skinne over their eares. This brought that flourishing-glorious estate to that spreading Empire in those happy dayes wherein *Basil* the Emperour of *Constantinople* lived; of whom it is reported, that whensoever he came to his Judgement seat, he found neither party to accuse, nor defendant to answer.

I remember a certaine Modell of antick forme, wherein were presented in *Punick* habits fixe grave personages, personating the office of Judges, each of them portrayed to the full body, and discovered by their distinct Posture and Impresse: The first, as one made up of impertinences, intending more the houre how it passed; than how businesse were dispatched, sate winding up his *Watch*; and above him these words writ
in

Excellent Em-
blems for de-
blazoning cor-
rupt Justice.

in golden Letters: *Quota est hora?* The next to him, as one rocked atieepe, late a grave *Endymion*, carelesse how the world went, or how causes proceeded: his onely reside on a bench, was to take a nappe, and with all indifferency to recommend the carriage of all businesse unto another, so he might without disturbance, enjoy his slumber; his Impresse, to answer the former: *Omnibus dormio*. The third, an imperious surly *Saturnist*, whose will was his Law; one, who scorned to veile to anothers judgement, though his opinion were more just: preferring his owne voyce before the equity of the cause: which hee makes good with as confident an impresse: *Sic volo, sic iubeo*. The fourth, a conceiving Sage, who heares all, but sayes nothing: appearing as one wonne by affection; or over-aw'd by command: or as one constantly resolv'd to comply with time, he approves with silence, what his owne knowledge dictates to him for unjust; and this he seconds in these words: *Video, sed taceo*. The fifth, one of a strong working pulse, more apt to receive than a common Shore. His Nerves were described ever extended; his Eyes fixt upon a visible object of approaching profit; and his Lungs nearely consumed with a close infatigable whispering of, *Quid dabis?* The last, in a scornfull eying and dis-esteeming of their irregular courses; as one declining from their injurious carriage, which he conceipts unworthy the embrace of any sincere professant, who should make his life the line, by which others

others actions are to bee directed, others affections measured, concludes, *Videō & video.* Truth is, Emblemes of this sort are held a kinde of representative Histories: and by so much more moving, in regard their features imply a more native and free expression, than if they were discovered onely by the penne without any other liniment.

With pieces of this quality, many eminent and illustrious personages have been infinitely taken: instances hereof are each-where to be found without seeking; and incomparably usefull in their applying. *Protagenes* his Table, wherein *Bacchus* was painted, (and with no lesse excellence was the Embleme contrived) moved King *Demetrius* lying siege at the City *Rhodes*; to use such intermissions and prejudiciall delayes in the pursuit of his designe, that where he might have consumed the City with fire, spared it for the preciousnesse and accurate workmanship of that Table: so as, staying to bide them battaile, he won not the City at all.

We shall see in the draught of ancient Histories, not onely the actions and events of warres set downe; but likewise the Purprise of Forts, the Site of Cities; the manner of their defeats; in Pictures and other impressive Sculptures; which adde a great beauty and living resemblance to the *History*. This we may see in those time-surviving Commentaries of *Cæsar*, and other Moderne Annals expressed, to which these digressive observations may be properly referred.

But to returne to our former argument: by
 the right use of History, we see vertue re-
 ved when her defender is dead: and to say the
 truth, I may use *Thales* sentence in this dis-
 course without History, *Nihil mortem a vita dif-*
ferre: Since the life of the dead depends upon
 the memory of the living: for without some me-
 moriall of actions prosecuted, what difference
 betwixt the valiant acts of *Ithacus*, and the
 shamefull retirednesse of *Egyftus*? betwixt *Ae-*
neas piety, and *Pigmalions* cruelty? they are dead,
 and their poore Urne can speake no more for
 them, than *Pompey's* Sepulchre spake for him *Hic*
situs est magnus: here he lyes that was once great
 powerfull in popular command, generally succe-
 full, before his *Pharfalian* discomfite: here he lyes
 that was stiled his Countries Patron, *Romes* best
 Centinoll: yet failing in the close of his fortunes,
 drooping in the upshot of his victories: Time
 can erect no other monument in his remem-
 brance: *Vixit, & vici*: onely once lived, and
 was once Conquerour. It is recorded; that
 when *Alexander* came to the Tombe of *Achyl-*
les and beheld the Mirrour of *Greece*, that up in
 so small a scantling of earth, (a parcell of that
 whole which could hardly containe him living)
 he wept bitterly, adding: *Haccine sunt Trophaea?*
 Be these all the Monuments, all the Trophies this
 world could afford thee? Is greatnesse so soone
 extinguished, and the lampe of honour so soone
 put

The great
mans Motte.

put out? A good motive for *Alexander*, to caution him of his mortality, and might make up this conclusion: *Alexander* thou art not *god*, but *man*: not the sonne of *Jupiter*, but the sonne of earth.

The like wee read related by *Quintus Curtius*, that when this great Prince of *Macedon* came into *Persia*, an object of no lesse pittie, than example of humane frailty, represented it selfe unto him: to wit, the poore Sepulchre of that victorious *Cyrus*, on which he found no other Inscription than this: *O man, whosoever thou bee, or from what place soever thou shalt come, (for I know thou wilt come) know, that I am Cyrus, who translated the Empire from the Medes to the Persians: pray thee doe not envy me for this little handfull of earth that doth cover me.* This Epitaph could not choose but fixe an impression of remorse and commiseration (as indeed it did,) in that great Conquerours heart: seeing whenero all his victories tended: So as *Nero's* affecting command and soveraignty was well answered by *Seneca*: *Pulchrum est regnare, (said Nero:) Nihil est, si nihil queras,* replied *Seneca*: Certainly (if I bee not blinded with the love of Historiall discourse) there is no meanes better to deterre from vice, nor more effectuall inducements unto vertue, than these morall relations. By them wee see the lives of Princes, and their employments (*Prima specie lata*) in their first entrance or passage pleasant, and delightfull, promising no lesse than successe, and in successe, continuance: and afterwards (*Tractura dura*)

more difficulties attending, as if the Wheele of Fortune were removed to a place subjected to more occurrents; yet not so dangerous, as to be attended by ruine: nor so secure, as to promise an undoubted issue. *Eventu tristia*; a strange Catastrophe of so faire beginnings! where, in the first, there was security grounded upon more than hope: in the second, hope, though not secure: in the third, neither hope nor security, but deprival of both. Yet even in these conversions, if it please the Reader to cast his eye upon the admirable moderation of some Princes affections, he shall see verily a Christian resolution in a Pagan. *Furius Camillus* could not be daunted; (though unjustly censured) his exile neither made him dejected, nor his Dictatorship proud. *Phocion*, that honest Senator (to satisfy an unsatiated appetite of revenge) renders up his life willingly, and when he could not dye without paying for his death, so indifferent was life to him, as hee confirmed his resolution by this *Epiphonema*: *Itaque nisi emptæ necesse mori mihi Athenis non licuit?*

True fortitude.

☞ To recount the vertuous lives and resolute deaths of the *Canny*, *Seneca*, *Aruntij*, *Sorani*, &c. men of admirable tempers in so corrupt a government: what excellent divine precepts they proposed: what indifferency not onely towards Fortune but Life it selfe they shewed; how integrityly they bare themselves in place of honour; with what constancy they suffered themselves to be deprived of it; would strike amazement

ment in any understanding man. Especially, having had no other helps but the light of Nature to guide them; nothing but an imaginary Conceit of fame to eternize them. Light veiles for so high designs.

In those blind times, when States and Empires grounded their success on Oracles; giving more credit to their doubtfull *Delphian* Resolves than any other praesage: with what preparednesse would their Generalls and Leaders grapple with the extreamest oppositions of death and danger?

“No safety, nor hope of Victory either to State
“or Army, concludes the Oracle, if the Generall
“live: and rather than the State should suffer prejudice by his life, with open breast and cheerefull embrace he meetes death. *Curtius* leapes into the Lake; *Cocles* into the Sea. This suffers exile, and rejoyceth in his misfortune; that degraded, beares the same countenance in his disgrace.

Againe, observe those constant amicable contracts of friendship one made with another: how no perill could divide their affections: no interposed Cloud darken those rayes of Amity mutually reflecting: Histories are stored with instances of this kind, which deserve our memory, with an admiration of their immutability. Two especiall examples, amongst many others, Stories afford us, which are here inserted by us; briefly related, but to perpetuity memorised. The former is of *Pelopidas* that noble *Grecian*, who skirmishing with the *Lacedemonians* against the

Arcadians, untill such time as being hurt in seven places, he fell downe at last for dead. Then presently *Epaminondas* (a mirror of constant Amity, in an hazard of such extremity) out of a princely resolution, stepping forth beltrid him, and fought to defend his body, he alone, against many, till being sore cut on his arme with a Sword, and thrust into the breast with a Pike, he was even ready to give over. But at that very instant, *Agisipolis*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, came with the other point of the Battell, in an happy houre, and saved both their lives, when they were past all hope.

Plutarch. in *Pe-
lopida. initio.*

Marcus Servilius, a valiant Roman, may supply the place of the latter; who had fought three and twenty Combates of life and death in his owne person, and had alwayes slaine as many of his Enemies as challeng'd him man to man; when as the people of *Rome*, upon some private discontent, resisted *Paulus Emilius* triumph, stood up and made an Oration in his behalfe. In the midst whereof he cast open his gowne, and shewed before them the infinite skarres and cuts hee had received upon his breast. The sight whereof so prevailed with the people, that they all agree'd in one, and granted *Emilius* Triumph.

Plut. in *Paulo
& Emilio. sine.*

Should we observe likewise what intestine and inveterate hate one Nation bare to another; where a new succession ever retained that proposed revenge of their Ancestor, it would give us no little occasion of wonder: that small beginnings rising to greater heates, neither by continuance

nuance of time; which weares out greatest pleasures, nor mediation of interceeding States, could possibly be attoned. Variety of these, *History* will likewise afford us.

When *Annibal* was a Child, and at his Fathers commandment, hee was brought into the place, where he made sacrifice; and laying his hand upon the Altar, sware that so soone as hee bore any sway in the Common-wealth, hee would be a profess'd enemy to the *Romans*. And that this grounded Nationall hate was not to be extinguish'd by death, may appeare by many eminent and pregnant Instances, not onely anciently but even of later times occurring.

Scipio appointed his Sepulchre to be so placed, as his Image standing upon it, might looke directly towards *Affrica*, that being dead, he might still be a terror to the *Carthaginians*.

Zisra, that valiant Captaine of the *Bohemians*, who had borne himselfe so victoriously successive in many set Battells of incomparable consequence, commanded that after his decease his skin should be flay'd from his body to make a Drumme, which they should use in their battells, affirming that as soone as the *Hungarians*, or any other their enemies, should heare the sound of that Drumme, they would not abide, but take their flight. This was the reason that the body of *Cadwallo*, an ancient King of *Eritaines*, (to draw nearer our owne borders) being embalmed and dressed with sweet confections, was put into a brazen Image; and set upon a brazen Horse

Horse over *Ludgate* for a terror to the *Saxons*.

These in a private Arbour, secluded from the cares or turmoyles of the world, to peruse, cannot but beget a delight and admiration in the Reader. While hee collects the rare temper of some, whose alteration of fortune could not so much as occasion one sigh, or produce a teare. The Reason might be this, they were not so much enamoured on what they enjoy'd, and consequently could forgoe whatsoever they enjoy'd with lesse griefe. Servile teares become slavish mindes: whereas a truly ennobled disposition scornes to be restrained by such gyves. This benefit of Nature they enjoyed, and in such freedom, as losse of fortunes could not amare them, being seated on an higher Mount than the braves of so light a Sovereignesse could ascend to.

These rightly conceived, and usefully applyed that Philosophicall Axiome: "*As the Moone*
 "*dosh never eclipse, but when shee is at the full; so*
 "*the Minde is never so much obscured, as it is with*
 "*the superfluity of Riches.* And againe, as the
 "*Moone is the furthest off from the Sunne, which*
 "*giveth it light, when it is at the full; so a Man;*
 "*when hee is fullest of Riches, is furthest off from*
 "*that Equity and Justice which ought to give him*
 "*light.* Herein therefore (to free them from a more dangerous shelve) they thought to imitate the Flie, which putteth not her feete into the great masse of Honey, but onely taketh or tasteth with her tongue so much thereof as serveth her turne and no more, lest by doing otherwise,
 she

shee might remaine taken and drowned therein. For true is that sentence in every worldlings experience: *Qui mundum amplectuntur similes sunt illis, qui submerguntur in aquis.* This, through a constant moderation of their desires, moved *Anacharses* to refuse the Treasure sent him by *Cræsus*: *Anacreon* the Treasure sent him by *Policrates*: And *Albionus* the Treasure sent him by *Antigonus*.

Bern. de Adv.
vent. Serm. 1.

That *Zeno* prov'd himselfe a Philosopher indeed by his contempt of the World; who hearing that all his estate was exposed to shipwracke, with a pleasing smile, and a composed temper, farre above the braves of fortune, concluded: "*Fortune bids mee now the sooner play the Philosopher.* And as their *Spirits* were elevated above the Orbe of *Fortune*; so could they with no lesse noble resolution suffer the misery of Exile, ever closing with that divine Morall: *Si sapiens est, non peregrinatur; si stultus est, exulat.* Howsoever then the State, upon some immerited ground might pronounce their Proscriptions against them: their Countrey was wisdom; their true repose, a quiet, composed mind, ready to suffer in defence of honour, and to hold it a prerogative of honour so to suffer.

Sen. de tranq.
an.

Sen. de remed.
fort.

What should I speake of *Publius Valerius Publicola*, whose moderation in the ebbe of fortune, and surplusage of miseries, made him more admired, than hated. The equall temper of *Rutilius*, the exceeding modesty of *L. Quintius*, the grave and serious respect of *Fabius Maximus*,

the temperate deliberation of *Marcellus*, and the admirable government of *Tiberius Gracchus*; the wise staidnesse of *Metellus*, and the discrete patience of *Marcus Bibulus*. We use to be more excited to goodnesse by Examples than Precepts; and such instances in Histories are not a little perswasive, representing to our eyes the divers objects of Piety in *Coriolanns*, of Justice in *Aristides*, of Prudence in *Cleobulus*: and to be briefe, of all vertues so well practised by Pagans, as they may well deserve an imitation by Christians.

TO proceede now to the Discourse it selfe; I allow of a copious phrase in History: For contraction of sentences doth oft-times contract the sence, or at least makes the Subject lesse intelligible: *Cornelius Tacitus* seemed to affect an intricate kinde of writing, yet his Argument in it selfe so copious might modestly Apologize his succinētnesse; approving *Tullies* opinion, where he propounds, what errours are most subject to Taxing in such Discourses: *Vitiosum etiam est si nimium apparatus verbis compositum, aut nimium longum est*: Taxing in the one Singularity, commending in the other Brevity: Yet he seemes to oppose himselfe in it by plaine contradiction, making relation of the same Discourse: *Non parum fructus habet in se copia dicendi, & commoditas orationis*: But these tend rather to Rhetoricall Narrations, than Histori-
call

What Style
best serves an
History.

call Descriptions. *Tacitus* is to be preferred before the most, being a dilated compendary of many declined States, dis-united Provinces: shewing the vices of the time, where it was dangerous to be Vertuous, and where Innocence tasted the sharpest censure: what garbe best suited with the state of that time, describing the Orators Tongue-*Facundam inimicitijs*, more partiall than Time-observers. Where *Amici Curia*, were *Parasti Curia*: The Courts friends, the Courts Poppingayes. Here he shewes a great Man rising, and his fall as suddaine as his erection: the immeritorious, in election for greatest honours, and the vertuous depressed, because they will not mount by sinister meanes. There a Prince that shewed great testimonies of his approved vertues, so long as he was subject, but raised to an unexpected height hee seconded this Conclusion: "An ill Prince spoyled a good
 "Subject: so was *Galba: Omnium consensu capax Imperij, nisi imperasset*: O what singular fruits may be gathered out of that one History, to teach men in high estates how to moderate their Greatnesse, and others of inferiour ranke, rather to live retired, than to purchase eminence in place by servile meanes? But of all, the divers affections of Princes, either well or ill disposed, minister no little delight to the Judicious Reader: Here one so popularly affected, as he had the tricke to binde his Subjects to allegiance by a native insinuation; such was *Augustus, Antonius Pius, Septimus Severus*; one whereof seemed

Diversity of
affections.

rather to affect popular satisfaction than his owne, subjecting (as he himselfe professed) his entirest thoughts to propagate his Countries glory : *Antonius* Clemency, was the chaine that united and combined (in a knot inviolable) the hearts of the *Romans* to him, publickly protesting : *Hee had rather save one Citizen, than destroy a thousand enemies.* But *Severus* was loved (which seemes no lesse admirable) for that which engenders, for most part, greatest occasion of offence, and that was Severity; Being no lesse exact in punishing his friends than enemies. But to read over the life of *Sylla*, we shall see an opposition in his nature. None that ere did more good to his friends, or more harme to his enemies : Nay, even in Brothers (derived from one Stemme) discrepant natures; *Titus*, the love and darling of Man-kinde, *Domitian* a professed foe to all Man-kinde; the one banishing Paralytes his Palace; the other a persecutor of flies.

Hinc Scissitantii, Quinam in Palatio, per lepide responsum fuit, Ne Musca quidem

Those different dispositions of *Romulus* and *Remus*, *Numitor* and *Amulius*, how from one and the same stemme, branches of various natures proceeded. Againe; to observe with what a Religious Ethicke care, many eminent Princes erected Temples for their gods; how serious they were in observing those Ceremonies, which were Nationally used by them. How superstitious they were in their *Oscines* and *Auguries*; what constant performer of their words, were it either in private Contracts,

tracts, or publick Conditions of Peace. What a lasting brand, or surviving blemish was it to any Nation, that should be found guilty in this kind? What a *Theta* it was to the *Carthaginians*, to be stamped with that inglorious Title of *Fædisfragi*? How devoted and affectionately ingaged, those honest-morall Pagans were to Loyalty? Nothing more hatefull to them than Treachery. This caused *Mitbridates* to take *Manius Acilius*, one of the chiefest Embassadors of the *Romans*, and set him contemptuously upon an Ass, till he was come to *Pergamo*, where he put molten Gold in his mouth; reproving the *Romans* for taking gifts: or to betray the confidence of their Country for rewards.

The like is reported of *Tarpeia*, that disloyall Maid, who betraying the gates of the Capitol to the Enemy, onely upon promise, that they should throw her the Bracelets which they wore on their left arme, which they accordingly performed, but with other proper gages to recompence her disloyalty; throwing also their Targets, with which she was pressed to death.

Neither were they lesse strict in punishing such, who in private and Oeconomick affaires shewed themselves disloyall. This appeared in that nobly disposed Enemy of *Scaurus Domitius*, who, when a certaine servant retaining to *Domitius*, came before the Judiciall seate to accuse his Master, hee sent him home to his Master with the Tenure of his accusation. These ancient Sages and Heroick Spirits clos'd not altogether with that

Breach of promise held a great dishonor amongst the Antients.

Memorable Examples in revenging of Disloyalty.

Maxime *Of loving the Treason, but hating the Traitor*: For they hated to stoope to such baseness, as to perfect what they intended, or dispatch ought that they designed by such odious and indirect meanes. Nor was a loyall-noble spirit ever scene-unrewarded: perchance, indeed, the iniquity of time might be such, as those who merited a gracious aspect from their Countrey, might sometimes fall into disgrace by undeserving Offices, suggesting to the State what so usefull an Agent never thought: but this proceeded not so much from the ingratitude as the easie credulity of the State, in inclining to such groundlesse suggestions.

Deserving men punished by the suggestions of ill offices.

No end of popular hate.

This might be instanced in that unhappy *Asdrubal*, who to prevent the fury and malice of the people, incensed against him by unjust Offices, fled to his Fathers Sepulchre, and dispatched himselfe with poison: nor found their fury here a period: for from that vast structure of mortality, they dragged out his Carcasse, and cutting off his Head, put it upon a Speares point, and bare it about the City. But this inhumanity must be imputed to that *Democratick* Government or headlesse Monster, where all things are usually acted by a blind precipitate will, without deliberation or advice. Whereas a knowing Prince, who measures the value of mens actions by the promptnesse or alacrity of those spirits with which they are done; eyes both the quality of the person and action: Nor can any designe proceeding from a loyall spirit, who stands ready
to

to ingage his state, fame, and all for the honour of his Prince or Countrey, loose his deserving Guerdon; besides that high opinion or estimate of the Prince, whose Countenance is his honour; whose Smile the reward of his labour.

King *Darius* upon a time, by chance opening a great Pomegranate, and being demanded of what hee would wish to have, as many as there were graines in that Pomegranate? answered in one word, of *Zopyruses*. Now this *Zopyrus* was a right noble and valiant Knight, who, to reduce *Babylon* to the subjection of his Lord and Master, and defeat the trayterous *Assyrians*, suffer'd his body to be rent and mangled: and being thus disfigured, fled straight-ways to *Babylon*, where the *Assyrians* were intrenched: whom hee made beleeve that *Darius* had misused him in this sort, because he had spoken in their behalfe, counselling him to breake up his Siege, and remove his Army from assaulting their City: They hearing this Tale, and the rather induced to thinke it true, because they saw him so shamefully disfigured in his body, were perswaded to make him their chiefe Captaine. By which meanes he betrayed them all, and surrendred both them and their City into his Masters hands. Such an Adamantine tye to his Princes heart was a loyall Subject, who little car'd how hee were brought to the stake, so hee might advance the honour of the publick State.

What more delightfull Subject can be imagined, than to converse (and that without perill)

of

*Plut. in title A-
potheg. Regum.*

*Justin. lib. 1.
in fine.*

Security the
ruine of Sovereignty.

Civill Warres
leave in a distracted State
the deepest
wounds.

How studious
the Romans
were of Histories.

of the dangerous events of Warre? of the divers dispositions of Princes; raisings and razings of Empires: Some shaken by the vitiousshess of the people which inhabite them, being so long secure, till ruine impose a period to their security: Some by (civill and intestine Factions) making their dearest Countrey the sad Spectator of their Funeralls, their entrest friends, their professed foes; and the argument of love and amity, the ground of civill dissentions: The cause whereof (for the most part) proceeds from a continued peace; for retirednesse from forraigne affaires, make us bent to prosecute Managements domestick; and the over-flow of successe (purchased by peace) makes men more capable of injuries, even to their best friends. This was the reason moved *Athens* to erect places of Martiall Exercises, (even in peace) that so the Youths being daily inured to such Exercises, might imploy their strengths in them, and not in civill Commotions. This wee have by relation of Histories, which so manageth affaires of State, as I am of that Sages opinion, who averred: That no man could be an experienc't Statist, that was not initiated to the reading of Histories; which hee confirms with reasons no lesse Authentick, calling them the aptest and exquisitest directions that can attend man, either in publick or private affaires, at home or abroad. Divers therefore of our famous Senators in *Rome* have employed their times in these Studies; as *Salust.* whose wel-couch'd Style, succinct Sentences, and purenesse

ness of Writing, may arrogate, if not the chiefest place; yet to be inserted amongst the chiefest: *Varro* one of reputed esteeme, and of ample possessions, tooke in hand the like taske, to illustrate his Native Tongue, not onely with apt and accommodate phrases, but likewise to compile the memorable acts of the *Romans*, and to reduce them into an exact order; to excite his Countrymen, by perusing the valiant attempts of their Ancestors: *Eorum gloria in flammari ad eandem virtutis exercitationem suscipiendam*: To be inflamed and provoked, by their renowne and glory atchieved, to imitate them in the like. And there is nothing certainly that leaveth more deepe impression in a resolved minde, than the report of former exploits; Hearing this man by his industry and vigilant respect, to contemne all difficulties, oppose himselfe to all dangers, whereby hee might performe something worthy memory: Another (sustaining *Herculean Labours*) to purchase himselfe but a little glory. This man subjected to Sea-wracks, exposed to the mercy of the Winds, environed and hemmed in by imminent dangers; yet moderating his passions, armes himselfe against the perils of Sea, adverse Windes, the menaces of ruine, with resolution to endure the worst of Fates, ever meditating of that motive to patience:

*Noscere hoc primum decet,
Quid facere Victor debet, Victus pati.*

57

It was the answer of an unamated Captive, who slighting the insulting braves of him who tooke him: "Thou hold'st thy conquest great
 "in over-comming me; but mine is farre greater
 "in over-comming my selfe. Here was a conquest indeed, and such as deserve trophies of glory, to crowne him with perpetuity.

The *Scythes* used to erect Obelisks or Square-stones upon the hearse of the deceased, answering in number so many as he had slaine of his enemies: Where is, he that had not slaine an enemy, was not onely deprived of those Monuments of glory, but not so much as admitted to drinke of that goblet (spiced with his Ancestors Athes) and used for an *Health cuppe* in solemne Feasts and banquetts. O what memorable Signals of true fortitude deserves that undaunted Spirit, who can triumph in his owne discomfit: and fortifie himselfe with a prepared mind against all oppositions!

The *Vnicornes* Horne being dipt in water, is said to cleare and purifie it. This will patience do in all these troubled Waters which inclose a composed minde. These finde no griefe of so extensive a quality, which either time will not allay, or Death end. Though they be led in triumph, and exposed to all the miseries which a domineering Foe can put upon them; they can slight the braves and contemptible slavery of a proud Conquerour, and with a cheerefull smile entertaine the mutability of Fortune. Such as these, are *S. veraignes* in Captivity; and merit most applausc

The excellency of a composed minde.

applause in their embracing of adversity. Besides this, they reflect with a discrete eye, upon what they formerly read : now their confinement affords them leasure to peruse what they have observ'd in the circuit of their time : and now in their new change or ebbe of fortune they finde no new thing happened. Those, whose Victories were numerous ; Sovereignty boundlesse ; could not so cut the wings of *Victoria*, as to make her their permanent Guest. They heare *Antiochus* at one time saluted both ^{Emperors,} and *Enquans*, a glorious Prince, and a furious Tyrant. They heare *Pompey* combred with honour, exclaime to see *Sylla's* cruelty ; and being ignorant after what sort to behave himselfe in the dignity he had then attained, they heare him cry out : "O perill and danger never like
"to have end !

They see *Philotas* aspiring, and falling ; a *Perrennius* conspiring, and perishing. They note *Dionysius* that Syracusan Tyrant to be so suspicious of his fall, so jealous of his Fate, as hee will not trust any Barber to shave him, but injoynes his owne daughters to learne that Trade, purposely to bee employed about him. They heare the very same *Dionysius* asking the Wise men of his Court, which Copper they held the best ; and they heare *Antiphons* ready answer to his question, that in his opinion, that was the most excellent, whereof *Armodius* and *Aristogiton* made the Picture of *Pisistratus*. Holding that Mettall the best, which kept a Tyrant

at rest. These heare the *Lydian* King exclaiming against himselfe, and disclaiming of his owne Opinion; that felicity should possibly retaine any subsistence from mortality.

These have found the best and principallst blessing confirmed by the authority of *Herodotus* in *Cleobulus* and *Bison*, *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, and that pithy conclusion of *Silenus*, who being taken prisoner by King *Midas*, paid this ransome; teaching the King, "The best thing that might chance any man, was never to be borne, the next to dye as soone as might be.

Ruse. Quest.
lib. 1.

A rich ransome, surely! had that worldly deluded King made right use of it; for so had hee prevented misery before it fell upon him: and made that an occasion of his happinesse, which unthought of, brought him to a more sensible conceite of his owne ruine. "Those whom the Gods doe love. (saith *Menander*) dye young: yea, those they esteeme of most, whom they take from hence the first.

To present these more impressive Motives of Worldly contempt, dis-esteemie of Life, Honour, or whatsoever this Sable Theatre of humane vanity could afford, sundry Imperiall Princes endowed with spirits no lesse imperious, have contrived many Emblemes, with other Remembrances, purposely, no doubt, to avert their affections from so much idolatrising Earthly Majesty. Amongst which, you shall finde in these rich Treasures of Time, Historical Records, an *Agathocles*, though

though a Tyrant, Emblemizing his owne fraile and mutable condition in the invention of his owne Statue: commanding the *Head* to be made of pure *Gold*, implying his Regall Dignity; the *Armes of Ivory*, signifying how *Justice* from *Execution* receives her beauty; the other *liniments of Brasse*, inferring their strenuity; but the *Feet of Earth*, displaying their frailty.

An excellent Memoriall, and well deserving to be ingraven in purest and perpetuall^d Mettalls. This *Simonides* sung to *Pausanias*; this a Page every Morning to *Philip of Macedon*: *Respice post te, hominem memento te.* *Cineas*, that excellent Orator, and solid Philosopher, dissuading *Pyrrhus* from his expedition against the *Romans*, demanded of him, "what he would doe, "when he had conquered them? To whom the "King answer'd; I wil over-run all *Italy, Greece &* " *Barbary*; and what shall we doe next: I will for- "rage *Cicilia*. And what remains to be done then? "O then, saith the covetous Prince, we will live "at ease, *Eate, drinke*, and be *iouiall* together e- "very day. And why, (said *Cineas*) may we not "eat, drink, and be merry with *lesse*, enjoy what "we have with *comfort*; and eschue those inevi- "table labours and perills, whereto our ambition "and insatiable desire of honour ingage us?

But this was too hard a question; Ambition can admit of no Reason. He onely h'as absolute power to confine his desires, who seeth nothing without him, which he conceives worthy of him. Such an one h'as measur'd Mans life, and hee

pag: 155

A princely
Embleme of
Mortality.Μήμνησθε ἑαυ-
τῶν ὅτι σπέρμα ἐστέ.

A narrow
spanne.

+

'Oxides oviges
ar d'paw G.
& mda.

findes it to be a span ; which hee shall neither fall short of, nor exceed, no not one title or point of it ; not the breadth of the smallest haire, or *Atome* ; no, not the rare-spun *Wothsimere* ; the subtillest linke of the Spider ; or any other 'extenuated or imaginary thinness whatsoever. Hee calls *Death* and *Sleepe* two Sisters ; and *Night* the Mother of them both. Hee holds the *Locust* or the *Grashopper* (though Creatures of emptiness and feare) no greater slaves of the winde than Man : yea, to set him out in his colours, and discover to the world, that his vanity ranks him with the lightest of Gods Creatures : Hee findes him tossed to and fro as the *Grashopper*, and driven away as the *Locust*. Hee observes, how the Sunne, when it is in the *Meridian*, and the beams of it perpendicular to our bodies, shadows change not suddenly : but when it begins to decline to the fall, every moment, almost, they vary. And such hee concludes, is Man ; who, though in his strength and maturity of Nature, hee find no such changes or alterations in the state of his body, as may seeme to menace to his declining house an approaching ruine : yet, that curious and delicious structure, that earthly texture of man, when it shall begin once to decay, and loose his former strength, every day brings forth a change. One infirmity or other hourly invades him ; and at last, so weakens his poore splitted vessell, as no truce will be admitted, no respite granted, hee must of necessity returne to those *first materialls*, from whence hee first proceeded.


We

Wee see the *Crowne* of Honour set with great solemnity upon the head; but wee feele not the *weight* of it; which makes him sweat and shake hands with *Rest* that weares it. Wee behold the golden Pantofle, but feele not how grievously it pincheth the foote. We eye and admire the reflecting beauty of a masse-guilt Target, or imbossed Armour, but partake not of his burden, who is the wearer.

The greatest Worldling ever carries the heaviest weight; the ambitious-aspiring minde ever harbours the most care: the enjoyer of Honour, the most feare. The scourge of *Envy* from below, and *Ambition* from above, doe hunt Honour to death. He enjoyes sufficiently, that h'as learn'd to be a Sovereigne over his owne passions: and to restrain the surging billows of an overflowing will, to the command of Reason. No Principality like this: for it brings man to an higher Imperiall State, than all the deluding promises of this spongie world can possibly afford him.

These Observations are Receipts, or Cordials against the maladies of Fortune: A man thus resolved, cannot be lesse than a Prince; for hee governes a Dominion more domineering, an Empire more imperious, a Diarchy, or Monarchy rather: having disconsorting affections, ever laying Siege and Battery to the Palace of the Soule, which moved *Plutarch* in his Morals definitively to conclude: *That he who moderated his affections, was halfe vertuous; but hee that never past the bounds*

bounds and limits of temperate motives, nor felt the deluding enforcements of vanity assaulting him, was wholly vertuous. But the Morals proposition was better than his conclusion: For no mortall (since the staine of his Originall Purity) could ever subsist so secure, or remaine so unmoveable, as never to be engaged to perturbations, the naturall attendants of Mortality.

N this first entrance to my discourse, having spoken some-thing in generall, of the use and fruit of History: having by an (equall Diameter) determined the proper place and Centre at which such Historicall Relations ought to tend: I will descend to the division of Histories, which may properly branch themselves into Divine, Discursive, Morall, Physick, or Mixt.

Division of
Histories; Di-
vine, Discur-
sive, Morall,
Physicke, or
mixt.

FOR Divine, I will not comprehend them in my Discourse; being such as depend on their owne Arches, drained from the pure Spring of Cœlestiall Wisedome, and therefore impossible to erre either in Action or Relation: yet necessarily (now and then) immixed with Morall Histories, because their weight may better poise in the Scale of every Judicious Reader, when he seeth Morall Discourse so well fortified, as by the Pillar of Truth. Albeit I approve of *Hesiods* words: *Fabulous Relations should not, nor ought they*

In Non & Dic

they to be authorized by Holy Writings : It was a Pagans observation, and worthy ours : So should our prophane Pamphleters, restrain their libidinous writings more, and either write that which should propagate themselves a generall reputation; without derogation to the sacred Writings of the Almighty, or silence their works; lest they should deprave many, for a private reward, or pedling gaine. More I insist upon this, because too many have I knowne steeped in this promiscuous Subject, well read in Scripture, to wrest them, otherwise Babes and Sucklings; for they could not reach to the depth of such Mysteries, but onely touch them to corrupt them. But their *Cimmerian* Cloud, when it shall be dispersed, and the Raies of a reasonable understanding to them exhibited : They will repent them, I feare it not, (and heavens grant that repentance be not like the after raine, out of season) of their prophaner mixtures. O let them turne their eye of consideration (whosoever they be) to the miserable end of *Lucian*, *Cleander*, *Mesrodorus*, whose disastrous falls answered their blasphemous risings; contemning the Sacred Writ of Heaven, and prostituting their labours to the merited censure of confusion : But too much of them. Times are not so easie to be wained from their habit of errour, or induced to a course of more Sanctimony : Lampes and Oyly Studies were made fruitlesse at *Epietus* death; his Lanthorne hung up (as a monument of his vertues) made a deeper impression in his Schollers,

Such as corrupt the Text, and racke the Sacred Sense with their enforced Allegories.

Not to mixe Sacred with prophane.

Vid. Lypsum in prescript. in lib. de corst.

Corrupters of Scripture.

than all our Motives, Precepts, or Examples can doe in ours: that Age was more apprehensive of Good, this of Ill.

Discursive
Histories.

Now to our Discursive Histories. Many discourse without matter, onely descanting upon idle Theames: more observed for their idleness, than for any subject whereon they entreat: Such be foolish Phantasticks that spend their Oyle upon unnecessary Subjects. I have apprehended many of this vaine, but they shall be namelesse, talking of strange Horse-races, such as their barren Muse never conceived: others of Fabulous Histories, never found out by that Arch-Artist Nature; whence they derived their foundation; for such, I passe untouched, being such as they hardly conceive their owne writings.

Division of
Discursive
Histories.

Discursive Histories are either true or feigned: If true, they comprehend in them a certaine ground, not onely fortified by a reasonable production, but also by the authority of such, whose Authentiquist Labours claime to themselves, a kinde of Authority without further prooffe: Such wee read to be the Labours of *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Titus Livius*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and many others, whose Subjects confirme their authority: being such as represent the divers events of things done, by Historicall Relation, and Ocular Presentation. For divers of those worthy Historiographers have beene interrested even in such probable,

bable, and generally-allowed discourses by personall presence; in the management of such affaires: as *Commines*, of all Histories (amongst our Moderne) most approveable, being an eye-witnesse of what he writ.

And herein me thinkes, I should take occasion, to recommend an imployment no lesse delightfull than consequently usefull to such of our Gentry as are addicted to *Travaile*, or *Martiall Discipline*; to have ever with them a *Diary* or *Ephemerides* of whatsoever they have at any time seene presented worthy memory, or acted in the time of their service or agency there. I should hold it convenient likewise for them to become their owne *Amanuenses*: by compiling and methodically disposing such memorable Observances, as occurre either at home or abroad. This course will recompence their few houres labour, to their great improvement; and in arguments of *Discourse* minister no small delight to an understanding Hearer. For admit the memory were never so retentive, yea, that it might vye with that of *Cyrus*, who could call every Souldier in his Army by name; yet to make it a *Store-house* or *Repository* of whatsoever we have seene or heard, would argue too much confidence in such a fraile-decaying ornament: for of all faculties in man, *Memory* is the weakest, first waxeth old, and decaies sooner than strength or beauty. *Prima sumus obliti, postrema non intelleximus, quia prima non meminimus.* An excellent Moral Caveat, and well-deserving our learning in these times.

Faichfull Historians.

An imployment of especiall consequence recommended to our Gentry.

Labor tenuis est, tenuis non gloria.

I could instance divers noble Personages even in this Kingdome, who have risen to an extraordinary pitch of Wisedome, Knowledge, and Elegancy of *Discourse* by this meanes. These in their forraigne interestes, would admit no *day* without a *line*. Privately they recorded whatsoever they had *seene* publickly atchieved. They sifted the dispositions of men, and reduced the benefit hereof, by complying with them, unto themselves. These Notions fit and enable them for State affaires; and in employments of Embassie. An office of especiall improvement to the State, being discreetly and wisely managed: For the Person so employed, presents in his owne, the very Face or Image of the Commonweale. For the better discharge whereof, that he may come off faire, and returne his Prince a gratefull account of what he ha's done, it is necessary for him to reteine ever in memory those Speeches of a grave and judicious Statesman, by way of direction in his moderation of Speech.

“ He that knoweth how to speake well, knoweth also where he must hold his peace. Wisely concluding: “ Thinke an houre before you speake, and a day before you promise.

Many, and peculiar he those prerogatives granted him; which, as they are exercised by him to the honour of the State from whence he came, so is he to neglect no opportunity for dispatch of those affaires for which he came. To reteine a seemely-modest State without affectation, will infinite-

infinitely become him, for that suits worst with his person of all others. He is priviledg'd from suffering abuse or dishonour; in the same line of relation is he to beare himselfe towards another. For in this is the Law of Nations exhibited, that he neither harne, nor receive harne from others. Albeit, hee may still enjoy the benefit of this priviledge, till such time as hee recede from his place or Office; that hee may use in his owne family the Sword of Justice to any such as shall utter words of disgrace against the Prince, or shall defile any mans Wife: neither is the Legat himselfe exempted from like punishment; being found in any of these a personall delinquent. For howsoever that Maxim of State be; That none is to handle the Sword, but he who holds the Sceptre; yet a Deputative power hath beene ever granted, which rather improves than detracts from his Majesty by whom it is granted. Now, to insist a little more upon their Dignity; they are neither properly sent by Subjects, nor to Subjects. Their Commission is from the Prince or State directed; not by any lower Power addressed: where, though the Common-weale seeme absent, yet is the Common-weales cause argued in presence. And that a more absolute power or Sovereignty may appear in him by whom these Agents are sent, than in the persons herein interess'd and sent, to speake in one word what duely and properly concernes them; They are upon Returne home, to

A Law of the
Digests.

render an accompt of their whole passage: wherein should they complaine, that the Prince or State to whom they were sent, had rejected; abused, or any way injured them, by the *Julian Law*, such an one was accused to have done contrary to the Law of Armes.

These, by helpe of *History*, finde likewise what resolution is required in one so interested; and in what manner he is to behave himselfe upon affronts done either upon himselfe, or to him whom he doth personate. Amongst many other Instances, he conceives no spirit more appropriate to one in that place, than of that Ambassador of *Athens*, who answered King *Philip* of *Macedon*, threatning that hee would cause his Head to be cut off: "If thou takest this Head
"from me, my Countrey will give me another
"that shall be immortall: for my Head, a Statue;
"for Death, Immortality.

Memorable Examples of this kind are every where to be found, in this unvaluable Storehouse or Treasury of Time, *History*.

But in ample tearmes to explaine what the condition of an Historian is, let me in briefe, yet materiall words, expresse what hee meanes: Not such as inveigh against States, or politicke Governments, for such are rather Satyrists, than Historians; nor such as personate the entire acts of a *Martialist*, by assentative tearmes; which are such as insinuate themselves by a glosing Style to winne the affection of their Patron. Lesse to be borne with be these, than the other, subjecting
the

Statuam pro
Capite, pro
Morte Immor-
talitatem.

Satyricall Hi-
storian, and
the Sycophant
Historian.

the free use of History to a Parasite and oylie tongue: which moved *Alexander* so exceedingly against *Aristobulus*, as that on a time hearing his owne Acts deblazoned farre above truth, he commanded his Labours should be throwne over Boord: saying, *He was almost induced to throw Aristobulus after*: A caveat very necessary for all clawing Parasites that make their Pen *Mercenary*, and therefore, as may be inferred upon their workes, dare not unrip the vitioufnesse of times; lest by unbosoming Truth, they should incurre the offence of some person, to whom their labours are ingaged, their fortunes subjected, and their endeavours partially devored.

Plato banished all Poets *Athens*: but a favourable Glosse would restraine that *Ostracisme* onely to peculiar wits, (petulant I meane) such as the Prince of *Sparta* proscribed his well-governed City, for presenting some obscœne Verses to his Queene. But I wonder why *Plato* excluded not these Historians, since their Labours were prostitute (like the publick Strumpet) for gaine, making their Writings to the opinion and imitation of that Scarabee of History, who being demanded why he wrote not truth of such a Prince; replied: *Vivit, quis vera dicet?* His life kept him in awe, he durst not expresse his vices to the quicke; lest he should bite too much.

This that experienc'd, but unfortunate Knight well observed, as may appeare by his owne words: "Whosoever in writing a Moderne History, shall follow Truth too neare the heels,

Hiero & Lcena

St. W. R.

“ heeles, it may happily strike out his teeth.

Wherein I commend the incomparable *Theano*, who is so cautious in his Histori-
 cals Notions of what he writes, as hee will commit no-
 thing to publick, which hath not beene first
 confirm'd both by strong Intelligence and Sub-
 signation under the hands of the eminent'st per-
 sons there residing, where any such action past.
 Nor is he spare in the relation of what he heares;
 so it import the Subject whereof hee writes:
 Though Princes should sollicit him by rewards,
 hope of higher preferment; he cannot endure to
 have his Pen sold, nor to comply with the hu-
 mour or current of Time for any unworthy
 ayme.

It was the excellent saying of an impartiall *Hi-
 storian*, who being demanded by One who had
 reduced his Empire to a meere Tyranny; why he
 remembred not him in his Writings? “ Because
 “ (quoth he) I read nothing in you worth remem-
 “ bring. Why doest thou not then (replyed he)
 “ record my Vices? Lest others (said he) should
 “ erre by your Example, and so imitate them.
 It is the highest honour of an Historian, to be ac-
 counted *sincere*. As hope of Honour should not
 transport him, hope of Reward corrupt him,
 nor ayme to any outward comply divert him
 from speaking Truth: so should no commanding
 power over-aw him, to betray his knowledge, or
 to sow pillows to the Elbowes of Greatnesse.
 This endangers his credit for ever, and throws
 a contempt on his Labour.

Many there are, who describe things rather as they should be done, than as they were done. This is not to make a discovery of truth, but to propose a forme or Method of what should be done according to truth. The lives of Princes, and their actions were ever held Modells of imitation for Inferiours. Their very behaviour, were it in some gesture never so uncomely, h'as ever begot Followers in persons of meaner quality. To rectifie these, nothing more powerfull, than to produce more cleare and imitable Examples; that in them, as in living Mirrors, they might discover their owne Errors.

It was the saying of *Antisthenes*, that those that would live free from vice, had need either of most unfeigned friends, or of most bitter enemies; because, the one by his admonition, or the other by his reproach might withdraw him from vice. Whence *Diogenes* being asked, how one should be revenged of his enemy? answered, by being a vertuous and honest man; for his integrity would beget him such a common conceit of extraordinary vertue, as hee who maligned him, would hardly endure to frequent any place, where he feared to heare his Enemies praise.

Nasica, when the Roman Common-weale was supposed to be in most secure estate, because freed of their enemies, affirmed, that though the *Achaians* and *Carthaginians* were both brought under the yoke of bondage, yet they were in most danger, because none were left whom they might ei-

M

ther feare

A rule how
to rectifie
imitation of
Errors; by Hi-
storically dire-
ctions.

My 3. August.
no will be c.

States, when
seeming most
secure from
their enemies,
ought to be
least secure in
their owne
confidence;

fear for danger, or who should keepe them in
awe. This caused *Oenomachides* in a Faction in
the Isle of *Chios* to counsell his fellows, that they
should not expulse all their Enemies, but still
leave some in the City; "Lest (quoth he) being
" freed of all our Enemies, we should begin to
" quarell with our friends.

Most certaine it is, that very few in all our
preceding Ages, unless they were such *Philoso-*
phicall Kings, as *Plato* wish'd them to be, could
in the height of their fortunes, endure reproofe,
especially in such publicke manner, as to be re-
corded by an Historicall penne. For one *Alex-*
ander, who could not endure *Aristobulus* prai-
sing him above truth, wee might produce tenth
Alcibiades, who could not abide *Eupolis* for
taxing him according to truth. But to deliver our
Opinion freely of discourses in this kind: Acti-
ous are so to be laid open, as the Agent maye-
ther receive honour, or suffer in them. For if in
our private Accompts, wee will be cautious e-
nough, lest any thing be omitted or inserted
more than should be: much more in those Ac-
compts or Registers of Time. They then, that
interesse themselves in Labours of this nature,
are not in their Compilations, to eye any mans
person: More incomparably-beautifull is the
Truth of Christians, than that imparalel'd *Helen*
of the *Grecians*. Those that write lesse than the
state of their History requires, may be properly
called the *Moaths* of *Epitomes*, as *Epitomes* of
Histories. Those that write more, make their
fictitious

August. Epist.
9. ad Hieron.

fictitious *Comments*, rather Glosses than Glasses of Time; containing in them an Ocean of words; but a drop of Truth. Nor are precious Houres to be so mis-spended, their Oyle so wasted, when every Line should survive the vading period of Life, and reserve to posterity a continu-ate *Storie* of their Predecessors Actions.

Mans life may be most properly compared to a Lampe; for as a Lampe may be three wayes extinguished; First, by outward violence, as when it is blowne out: Secondly, by pouring in much water, whereby the good liquor of the Oyle is drowned and corrupted: and thirdly, by the wast and spending of the Oyle it selfe: So likewise a Mans life (which in truth resembles much the nature of a Lampe) is extinguished by three wayes and meanes; to second her resemblance both in the appearing and extinguishing; first, by externall force, to wit, of the Sword, fire, strangling, pressing, poysoning, and the like: Secondly, through the aboundance of ill humours, or the malignant quality of them, whereby the *Radicall humour* is opprest and overthrowne: Thirdly, when the *Radicall humour* is in long space of Time quite consumed by the Naturall heate, and blowne out into the Ayre; which is done after the same manner, that boyling water or Oyle is wasted by the heate of the fire.

Now, as *Radicalis humor* is in *Corpore*, so is *Veritatis amor* in *Corde*: Which divine vigour, when it is corrupted or impaired by any vitious or malignant humour, it looseth her light. Now,

*cessus in Hygl-
asticon.*

An apt resem-
blance of the
humours in
the body, to
the qualities
of the minde.

what is this humour which so darkens this divine vigour or truth of an Historian; but partiality? which streames either from the weake and shallow Channels of *Pusillanimity*; or the muddy Inlet of *base commodity*. For the former sort, their Spirits are too weake for such a Taske: for such as will suppress Truth, or obscure the light of their History, by suffering themselves to be over-awed by Authority, are fitter to be imploy'd in discouraging of the *Pigmeis* warres, or of the battell of the *Frogs* and *Mice*, than any eminent action. For the latter, their dispositions are so unworthy, as they are never to be admitted within the List of an History: for these preferre trash before truth, and so far under-value that usefull imployment whereto they stand ingaged, as they lose themselves by deriving gaines from that, which should be from all servile fetters freed. Let the first consider, how unfit they are to converse with Princes precedent, which in their readings they daily doe; who are so over-awed by the Count'nance of times present, as overcome with feare, they silence that which should have bin the activest Scene in all their Subject. This many times makes a lame discourse: when to supply actions of higher consequence, they impe in needlesse trifles: such as neither require an *Historians* labour, nor recompence the lost time of the Reader. THAT conceited Treatise composed by an *Italian*; entit'led *A Supplication to Candle-light*; discovering the abuses comitted & curtained by the silent & secret shade of night, deserv'd high approvement in comparison of these.

He

Hee lighted his Lamp purposely to discover vice; these put out their lights, lest they should suffer for their discovery of vice! O! that these would but apply that divine sentence somtimes uttered with no lesse courage than comfort by a devout father: "In such a cause, wherein my desire is to please God, I little feare the power of man." So they in a business of such consequence as imports the benefit of State, the advancement of truth, are not to be pusillanimous, but discreetly resolute; that neither too much boldnes may deservingly tax them of indiscretion: nor remissnesse, of too much want of spirit nor irresolution. Let the latter, likewise, privately converse with his owne thoughts: and weigh with himselfe, what a base or sordid gaine it is, to purchase to himselfe honour or preferment by untruths. A Lye is held a word of dishonour, onely spoke by the mouth: what a deepe taint or impression wil it reteine, standing on record? Now to prevent the meanes of publishing Subjects of this kind, for profit sake, as many of our unautho- rized Novells have of late times beene published; those fore-running ages allowed ample Pensions for their Authors; such as might in a good measure, without a necessitated beholdingnes to any, maintaine the: lest want of means might corrupt their pen, by making that mercenary, which stood ever priviledg'd, and retain'd in it selfe a native liberty. For should privat rewards soile the purity of an *History*, what might become free? The Acts of his *Benefactor*, were they never so obscure or ignoble, should receive a gracefull

Ambros. in In-
dica.

Ample pen-
sions allowed in
former times
to Historians.

imherited expression : Meane while, the Actions of whomsoever he maligned, were sure to have their brand, were they never so deservingly approved or eminent.

This is no square dealing ; and in all times much hated ; yea, and highly censured, as may appeare by sundry Ancient-Historicall Records, which for brevity sake I here omit, referring them to the *Roman Annals*, where they may be stored with variety of Instances in this kind.

Now, as *Plato* in his *Dialogue* entitled *Symposium*, by way of Fiction describeth the difference betwixt two kinds of *Venus* : whereof, the first was more ancient, brought forth by the *Heavens*, whom *vertuous* men doe follow : the second much younger, begotten betweene *Jupiter* and *Dione*, whom *wicked* men doe serve : So say I of these, whom wicked men doe serve, or rather serve wicked men, by complying with their humours, either for feare of censure, or ambitious hope of honour ; let them withdraw ; they are not to be enter'd here in Checkroule, & while with a free and affectionate embrace, these onely are to be entertained, who scorne to humour time, either for hope of imherited honour, or servile profit.

Indeed, I must acknowledge there should be a reverend and modest concealing of such Personages in criminall causes, so the bounds of the History can admit it. And sometimes a Native pullanimity restraines us to speake that which wee know, because silence (as the wise Sage said)
never

never occasioned so great offence as Speech. And
Merito ad in partit, it is not to be for these dayes
 too probable, too well authorized, where sinnes
 goe with impunity, or adorning their growth
 with a faire outside; no second that Tyrant of
Syracusas proposition *Et qui corrigere non possunt
 det proderet*, si crimen audiat? Sure such tyrani-
 nizing Subjects, or Objects rather of feare, must
 needs be terrible to the poore Historian: He can-
 not show *Julus Cæsar* spirit, bispit in the face of
 Tyranny; Hating by a modest liuesitee panther
 Vice, though reprehension is but humane gage, hee
 could, redeeme with nothing save life! Such
 was that *Cordus* (the *Rothemburg* Historian) who for
 speaking truth was censured unworthily, and sup-
 7. But if Princes or Potentates should exactly ob-
 serve the courses and revolutions of times, the
 subsequent degrees of crime and depbition (vi-
 ces, Apologizand) they would commend such an
 Historian (and no lesse desertfully) who em-
 ployeth his Time, wasteth his Oyle, and ma-
 cerates himselfe in the scrutine of thie Relati-
 ons, by conferring Histories together, and with
 a Judicious approbation, or clding power, ex-
 tract whatsoever may seeme most probable and
 authentick.

Many worthy Stuists have desired, and in
 themselves no lesse deserved (though perhaps
 some little sparkes of vaine-glory may seeme to
 appeare in them) to have their memorable Acts
 recorded, as *Cicero* his withstanding *Cæsar*,
Cato his opposing *Cæsar*, *Solon* his *Pisistratus*,
 and

*Quam plures
 vidi incidisse
 peccatum lo-
 quendo, vix
 autem quinquã
 sacerdo. Am-
 brof. in lib. de
 Offic.*

The Com-
 mendation of
 a sincere Hi-
 storian.

at 51. line 1
 22706

and Demosthenes his Philip: their acts recounted, and committed to memory, induce others to the like attempts: and like a coole Arbour to a wearied passenger, yeelds no lesse delight to themselves; which *Perfius* seemes covertly to shadow in his first Satyre: *Ex pulchrum est digno monstrari & dicere hic est.* This finger is History, which truly demonstrates the life of the person, characters his vertues, or vices; disposing every particular member and branch of his discourse in such exact method; that it resembles a faire beautifull building, which yet deserves more commendations for the contrivement, than the outward and garish Garnishment: *Edes opera sunt, quae si culte extruantur, minus restat, si minus sumptuose.* True; Bookes Historically have no better beauty (nor indeed can they) than an apt and methodicall disposition: other accomplements are superfluous, resembling some of our workes now and then published, with faire and beautifull Frontispieces; as if some worthy conveyances (rare buildings of Art and Nature) were within so comely portalls. But alas! looke inward, nought but rubbish and refuse of some old building, unhandsomely repaired; or some frothy invention, not worth halfe so much cost: These should feare (as the Philosopher told the *Indians*) lest their whole Labours should flye out at their gate, having their gate so promising, their Labour so immeriting. But such as goe *ad praelum tanquam ad praelium* (for so indeed they doe) furnish themselves aforehand with exactest Labours,

Fruitlesse labours.

Labours, to stand in defiance against the spirit of detraction: for we cannot fortifie our workes against all Assailants: some being addicted to carpe, because long custome hath confirmed in them a desire of reprehension.

Ælianus in his Naturall History reports, how the Vipers issue is the bane and death of the Parent: Certainly, as *Libri* are our *Liberi*, our children, which wee should be as carefull and provident in bringing up, as the Father over his child: so oftentimes they play the Vipers with us, they murder us in our name and reputation, much disparting their Parents, being prizelesse, and therefore unfit for presse: nay, they doe more, they oftentimes asperse an imputation upon Her that should be no lesse deare (if not more) unto us, than our selves, our *Country*: making her flowery bosome a nourisher of fruitlesse labours, a stale to licentious Libells, or Brothell rather of lascivious measures. And how shall we make answer for so many motives to lust, so divers inforcements to inordinate affections, and so temporizing subjects in humouring great ones, and soothing Vice in her Majesty? *Debemur mortis nostræ*: where our workes must abide scanning, and that by a Judicious censurer; one that can unrip the secretest of imagination, and knows the Bent of our purposes.

It was an excellent saying of Judicious *Cassius*: *Parum est legere aut colligere, sed intelligere, & in formam redigere; hoc artis, hoc laboris est.* Would Authors make use of this, they would

not in so impolish'd nor uncompos'd a forme send forth their Cubbs before they be lick't: nor set their fruitlesse braines a worke in publishing such uselesse Labours, as have no proper Object whereto they may seeme to ayme, but an itching desire of being in Print: to have a Name amongst Authors; albeit, many times that Name redound to their dishonour. These may be compared to those *uncleane beasts*, who never chew their Cud. It is a Divine Polition: "*He that goes to meditate, before he be prepared, that man takes in hand to build an house before stones be gash'ed.* What shall we judge of him, who without study or pre-meditation sets hand to paper: as if Works of that nature were onely Manuall, and no braine-labour? How miserably are their judgments darkned, or rather how pittifully are such deluded, who hope to receive life, or reteine esteeme from such Spider-caules? Wherein our pregnant'st and refined'st Wits are many times most conscious.

Wee observe, how some of our Women are so taken with their streight and well-shap't bodies, as they would not for a world have Children, lest they should spoyle their feature: nor will these *Mushrome-wits*, who are ever teeming, never suffering, betake themselves to any paines, lest that burdencus labour might detract from the beauty of Nature. These hold Study an unnecessary accoutrements for good wits: present and pregnant must be their Fancy, out of some Poeticall rapture or fury: wherein by that indi-

viduall

*A calamo magis
quim cerebro,
serinio quim
genio ista elici-
enda sunt tele.
ib.*

viduall spirit of Sacke, they stretch and straine their enforced *Genius* to such high lines, as if *Prometheus*-like, they had stolne Fire from Heaven, drunk *Hippocrene* dry, or broke open the *Muses* Cabbinet, and soakt those poore Girles of all their influence. Where, some in perusall of these Ebrious Lines, will usually be so farre transported with them, or more properly, besotted by them; as they will vow, nothing could be compos'd by any Wit, were it never so fluent, upon a fasting or abstemious stomack, like those Conceipts. Nay, that no præmeditation could mend them: being so enlivened and full of Spirit, as they were farre more easily admired than imitated.

This I must confesse, is a great happinesse of Wit; but it confirmes withall that Maxim of the wise *Stagyrian*; "*There was never any great wit without some mixture of folly*: which may appeare by their disesteeme of study or præmeditation, as if it were a rubbe or *Remora* to invention.

It was *Eucherius* saying; *Nihil est magnum re, quod breve tempore*: But these spritely Wits are of another Opinion. They hold no worke nor composure worth approvement: which, like an unnaturall Birth, appeares not in his full shape upon the instant: And of those, none deserving more admiration than their owne. It was the saying of a famous Orator: "*I never knew any Poët (yet was I well acquainted with Aquinius, and many others) who did not thinke his owne doings better than all others.*" Nor is this speech

of his to be onely restrained to such as professe Poetry, but even generally to every distinct study: which he quickly discovered, who concluded: *Debyrant plerunq; Scriptores in libris suis.*

Now, to contract my Sayles in the prosecution of this Argument; I should hold it no lesse convenient than mainly necessary; that such, who addresse themselves to employments of this sort, doe use a cautious deliberation both in the election of their Subject, as also in their Style and Method of handling it. Lest, what sometimes the Scriviner by way of derision spoke unto an impertinent Author, be applyed unto them. This Scriviner being on a time in company with a Scholler, who profess himselfe to have Writ much; and having heard a large Catalogue of his obscured Labours: the Scriviner seem'd to challenge an affinity to his profession. "No, that were
 "absurd, answered the Scholler; why, replyed
 "the Scriviner? I am a Writer. Yea, but said
 "the Scholler, I am an Author. No, excuse me,
 "quoth the Scriviner, I make no doubt of that;
 "There are more *Writers*, than *Authors*; and
 "the Catalogue of your Labours enroule you in
 "that number.

In one word; those *Workes* onely deserve Improvement, who derive their life and light from Judgment. Such onely merit the Title of *Records*; because they live to posterity: and represent to the Successor whatsoever was imitable or despicable in their Ancestor.

These are Workes to be ingraven in Cedar,
 and

A pretty passage betwixt a Scriviner and a trifling Author.

and well-deserving their *Cesar*. So that, as *Alexander* had his *Homer* in Reverence for his Poësie; his *Aristotle* for speculation and Philosophy; *Alcibiades* the Instructions of *Socrates* to ground him in Piety; *Cesar* the continuall practice of his owne Commentaries to improve his glory; and *African* the workes of *Zenophon* to enable him for occasions Domestick or Military: So these memorable Labours, which are thus penned by judicious and industrious Authors, merit no lesse honour, in what State or Province soever they shall receive harbour.

For others, as corruption of manners is their Scope, or vaine glory their ayme, or some other by-respect the object of their Pen, they deserve a due censure from the State, for seeking so odiously to poison that brest, which nursed them.

Thus much I have writ briefly (by way of inference) to caution such as by their Labours erect a Throne for Impiety to sit in: these Humour-mongers, that can with *Cesar* the Dictator, *Atros dies albos facere*, make blacke white, and maske Vice with a vaile better suiting with Vertue: Now will I discend to their Opposite, and that is, the Satyricall Writer, or *Historiomasix*.

Some of these are very dangerous to a State, laying it open too much: and though acts should be related, as they were done: yet, if the circumstances may seeme any way detractive to some person, or state, they are better silenced (if it may stand with the body of the History) than dis-

covered. I have knowne some too precise in this veine: and one especially I remember, who speaking of the great *Sultan*, could not be content to describe his Palace, managements domestick and publicke, person, and the like; but of his piked Beard, the colour of his stockings: and in the end comming neere him, (said he) and indeed nearer than need was, his breath was noysome. These, and such like impertinent circumstances are so frivolous, that they imply a defect of Judgment in the Author, to insert such idle, and immateriall Ambages in an History of consequence. But these are farre from those *Historiomasixes* of our Time; some whereof personate the wrongs of a Noble Ancestor to his lineall Successor, moving him to revenge. This is one of the Furies Brands: for you shall never see one of this kind, but *à tergo Nemesis*, hee hath vengeance at his backe; a splenefull disposition disgorged upon the best of deserts. And thus he inserts the injuries: "Such a family (well meriting
 " of Prince and Countrey, and ever found loyall
 " to the State) was undeservedly censured by the
 " malevolent suggestions of such, and such, whose
 " suggestions are (as yet) unrevened, but the Hea-
 " vens are just. What Motives more enforcing to
 " civill commotion? Injuries ript up, have oftentimes hazarded States: and there was never any People, Nation, or Government, which have not from time to time had one of these. *Thersites*, as deformed in minde as body, (for so *Homer* characters him) was ever kindling the flame of
 civill

Observe this humour in the seditious and factious Writers of our time.

A true Aphorisme.

civill combustion betwixt *Achylles* and *Agamemnon* at the Siege of *Troy*, about the rape of *Briseis*; ever harping upon that string to set them together by the eares.

*Why Achylles, should you sustaine so great reproach, that have engaged your selfe for Agamemnon, and his Brothers glory? Be all your hopefull Services, your valiant Exploits, your incomparable Achievements so rewarded? Hath Agamemnon no place for valour? no regard to honour? Why then desist Achylles, embarke your selfe for Greece, and leavethis brave Champion to himselfe and his fortunes; your merits (being gone) will be better esteemed. You had but one prize, (and that prize unworthy too of your valour) and must that prize, got with much sweate, many difficulties, imminent dangers, multitude of occurrents, now be taken from you? But one Briseis, one deare one, and yet Achylles must loose her. Alas poore resolution! Why, it is better to be *Alyxstus*, a Coward, a recreant, one that retires himselfe from Armes, fighting close under *Clytemnestra's* Target. Such a Carpet-Knight is better than a Martia'l-Knight. Then would hee presently move *Agamemnon* in like sort, in no case to moderate his desires: Why should Achylles have so faire a Paramour, and the Prince of Greece want one?*

Such Agents of mischief as these, are ever of a neutrall Faction: they hover like the *Ratte*, uncertaine in adhering to any; they more admire the Sunne when it is rising than setting. They measure the worth or merit of every action by

by the successe of it. And when the day is closed; the actions of that day finished; they admire nothing more than those Booties which the Conquerour h'as gained. Their Historicall Relation must become a Panegyrick Oration. No Compositions too elaborate; no Lines too Elegant, to give life to his conquest. Meane time, though the worser cause fared the best, as it was with unfortunate *Pompey*: whose memory had, no doubt, many Ages survived *Cæsars*, had his fortune beene paralel with *Cæsars*; they have the Art to magnifie the equity of the Conquerours side: and with palpable assentation to insinuate into the affection of so commanding a spirit. Many glorious Attributes of greatnesse are these ready to devise, to honour him that h'as wonne the day. But bitter are their Pens in disvaluing the Actions of the conquered: in lying aspersions upon his person; disgracing his Alies: and inventing by all meanes how to advance the Fame of the one, by derogating from the other. This it was (as I formerly observed) that induced *Alexander* to conceive such great distaste against *Aristobulus*, as he was almost ready to send both him and his Workes together into the River *Hydaspis*. For there is no noble nor princely disposition, who can endure to heare his conquered Foe dishonoured: or to see any one lead him in Triumph but himselfe.

When *Cæsar* had commanded those demolished Monuments of *Pompey* (Statues reared in his former affluence of Fortune) to be
set

set up againe; Cicero told him, that in erecting Pompeys Trophies, he established his owne. So praise-worthy is the compassion of a Conqueror, that in this hee deserves more praise, than his victorious prize. Nor is it lesse noble in him to contemne those servile earthy Spirits, who mold their Pens to the inclination of the day: holding him onely worthy honour who got it; and the vanquish'd all dishonour, because his Fortune was more sinister. Whereas the goodnesse or equity of the Cause is not to be measured by the Cloze: Many prest quarrells have produc'd strange effects: yea, such incroaching powers, whose onely ground of Hostility, was enlarging of their owne Dominions, or enriching their coffers by others fortunes, have received wonderfull successe; albeit, some Cloud or other in the end eclipst'd their greatnesse, and return'd them a just and proportionable revenge according to the measure of those injuries, which by invasion, oppression, or usurpation they had done unto others; as the Lyrick sometimes sung:

*Quicquid à vobis minor extimescet,
Maior hoc vobis Dominus minatur.*

Horace.

*As the Great deales with the low,
God will use the Great ones so.*

But to returne to our Discourse: As those who are interess'd in these Military affaires, are to ayme at nothing more than the justnesse

nesse of their quarrell; which reteines still in it selfe a quickning power to the most declining spirits: so are those who undertake the recommending of those actions done, with a compe-
tible Pen, to relate the grounds and occasions of their coming on; of passages during the warre; with the event or issue thereof; without siding or complying with either part; either for Country, or any other private ingagement. As for those, who (as *Optatus* speaks in another sence) are all for *Time*, nothing for *Truth*: or, as *Themistius* sometimes spoke of the *Acacians*, who by complying with the Emperour, and applying themselves to his pleasure, justly gained the name of *Iovinians*, ascribe more reverence to the *Purple* than *Person*; Their workes may receive breath for a time, but cannot promise any continued fame.

*Affentatores
non Deum sed
Pu. purpuricolu-
isse, &c.*

It was a Speech worthy the Mouth of *Traian*:
*Hoc prome utere, si iusta impetrauero, contra me,
si iniusta.* His desire was no longer to reigne than
he reigned well. The hearts of his people hee
sought not to winne by any soveraignizing way:
for he found those paths full of perill. Nor by
pretending goodnesse, or throwing cloudy de-
signes with faire pretences, for those hee shun-
ned, because unsoundly grounded. And as the
Fish *Sepia* is bewrayed by a blacke colour, which
the callieth out to cover her: so this dusky vapour
of dissembling being once dispersed, would bring
him to a discovery, and by degrees to ruine. This
had he read in the Tragicall Catastrophe of *Ti-
berius*,

berius, who gloried in nothing so much as in cunningly cloaking his private purposes with gilded glozes, faire pretences, going invisible, and deluding his Subjects resolutions with a *seeming good*.

Faire semblances poized with their incommo-
dities, prove oftentimes fruitlesse, redious, or
noxious, as the *Italian Proverbe* implyeth :

Chi habianco Cavallo, et bella moglie

No vive mai Sansa doglie.

This he discovered in others misery, which sufficiently inform'd him to shun such Presidents of impiety. Nor sought this brave Prince to ingratiate himselfe in the affections of his people, by an indiscreete bounty : for the fatall effects of such indisposed *sowers* of their Fortunes, he read deeply charactred in the loose and lavish reignes of *Vitellius, Commodus, &c.* For these, howsoever they might seeme to have free hearts, they had weake and shallow Conceits : in distinguishing the merit of the person to whom they show'd, or rather show'd downe their bounty. He, who could time it most, was ever sure to be rewarded best : which begot in persons of desert and quality such discontent, to see others of base condition advanc'd, themselves contemn'd : as this their inconsiderate bounty became the onely pulley to hale them to calamity.

Nor could this absolute Prince (for hee was Sovereigne over himselfe) indure to force an obedience in his Subjects, by a tyrannick feare : for though *Nero's* Position was this : *Fortuna*

Yet had this
President of
Princes, facti-
ous & stirring
Spirits both in
Campe and
Courts.

Plutarch.

nostra cuncta permisit mihi : Hee held that Maxim farre more princely : *Quo quisque poten-
tior, patientius mala ferat.* Either to plant in blood, or beget a more awfull command and Sovereignty by practising in himselfe or Officers, effusion of blood, he found that course no means to secure him, nor to settle him in an Imperiall State. Hee had received from that Learned Morall, how, in the minde or conscience of a Murtherer, there shall alwayes remaine a plague of Blood; his Eyes shall behold no other colour but *sanguine*, as if the Aire were dyed into it; the Visions of his Head in the Night-time shall cast a *Bowle of blood in his face.*

Howsoever, most certaine it is, that divers factious Incendiaries have showne themselves in most Pavillions; where, by private suggestions they ever sought to sow differences amongst Eminent't persons: purposely by a parasiticall way, to creepe into favour with one or other. Which ever redounded to the Authors dishonour; as might be instanc'd in sundry Examples both Ancient and Moderne. For whence came those fatall-fraternall discords betwixt *Polynices* and *Eteocles*? Those continued Warres betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*; *Sabines* and *Samnites*; but from these
* *Spirits in the Vault*, who were impatient of nothing more than peace: nor Fautors of ought more than Division? In troubled waters is their best fishing: *Halcyon dayes* are their
(their

their *Canicular-daves*. A calamitous *Canna*, or fatall *Pharsalie*, Camps where they hang their Trophies of glory. In which, they hold it impossible but to finde some, on whom they may practise.

Hecuba's Dreame of bringing forth a *Burning Torch*, may be in these verified: Their stirrings would bring all to cinders, were they not seasonably quenched. Publick safety, private Amity, all correspondence meeting mutually, would by these bee soone dissolved, were they left alone to act their owne parts: which would in short time burst out into such combustion, as the Stage where they acted, should present nothing but Enmity and Division.

Some of this Stampe; our late Gracious Sovereaigne of famous Memory, King JAMES, tooke especiall notice of: who, howsoever they were for other humane Learning deservingly approved, yet for their indiscreet passages in this kind; (as may appeare more fully in their Historicall Relations) they utterly lost his esteeme.

These are poysonous and virulent heads, that suggest into the eares of Princes, Arguments of revenge, causes of distrust, motives of suspicion and jealousy: not to profit themselves, but to satisfie the depravednesse of their owne natures, intended to nothing but the subversion of States, the setting at discord united Princes: *En pallor! &c.* — It was thought, that

*En pallor Gen-
tis, generis, ge-
nijque poten-
tis
Hæc bras stimu-
lando graves,
inflare super-
bos!*

A memorable
Christian, and
royall expedi-
tion.

in that glorious and Christian-like expedition of those memorable *Heroës*, Princes recorded in the eternall booke of fame, against the *Turkes*, whose hostility had laine waste those blessed and fruitfull coasts, where the remnant of *Israel* was once planted: that the greatest cause of the ill successe of that Warre proceeded from some factious heads, setting (that unfortunate, yet never sufficiently praised *Heroë*) the Duke of *Normandy*, and the King of *France*, at variance: an impious and disastrous enmity, being a maine impediment for the hindering a warre, no lesse glorious to Heaven, than generally beneficiall to all the world. Some have imputed the cause to certaine expostulations betwixt the two Princes, which grew afterwards to words of publick reproach and infamy; upbraiding each other with divers insolencies offered by their Countries, one to another. Whatere the Motive of this dissention was, (how varied soever the opinions of Writers be herein) the braine that contrived it, was sure the forge of great impiety, and an irreparable detriment to the Christians, exposing them to ruine, slaughter, and desolation.

A mischievous
plot.

Faction
Historians amongst
the Ancients.

The like we may read of those two renowned Cities, *Sparta* and *Athens*: which two flourishing Common-weales long time lived in unity, without the least motion of warre: but in *fine*, reading the workes of a mutinous Historian: mutinous indeed; for his factions before, had beene sufficient, without further inducements by writing: such bloody and cruell warres ensued,

as

as the fire of those intestine combustions was not extinguished with lesse than an universall effusion of blood. Many more I could produce, even neare at home, but I must not insift upon one Argument too long, since I have entred a spacious and intricate Maze, that promiseth entrance enough, if I can (with *Ariadus* thread) finde a passage to my precipitate adventure.

Thus much have I spoken of State-snarling Historians, that make their Workes like pricks or goads to the publick State. I will now proceed with my former division of History, and finde in these two extreames (*Affentation*, and *State-invection*) a meane to direct us in the perfect and exact use of Historicall Narrations: *Mediocritissimus ibi*; neither too depressed, as if thy Labour exprest their Masters poverty: nor too erected, to intimate thy States security. Thou art too depressed, when with lagging wings thou stoopest to every base lure, or object of affection, making thy Invention a stale to others pleasure, writing nothing lesse than truth, because truth cannot teach thee how to live. Thou art too erected, when like an eminent Censor, thou taxest the acts of Princes, with such an austere brow, as if thou hadst forgot the discipline of History, and wer't transformed to a profest Satyrist; mixing thy Inke with farre more gall than discretion: yet transported with imaginary motives of selfe-conceit; cares not who be galled,

An excellent meane for an Historian to observe.

so thou (with *Cresiphon*) kicke against the Moiles heeles. For the latter, there's no profession more easie, nor subject more frequent, nor Argument more generall: and as *Juvenal* saith:

Lib. 1. Satyr. 1

*Difficile est Satyram non scribere: nam quis iniqua
Tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus ut teneat se?*

A flattering
Historian,

For the first, I never knew any Discourse worth reading, proceed from so base and ignoble Merchants: They sell their Workes by retaile; and hope of a gainefull Dedicatory, makes them contemne Method, Truth, Subject, and all. *Irus* skrippe is open; relieve but the needy Artist, he will imitate the *Bohemian* Curre, fawne on a good suite: shew the project of his intendments to him; deague but thy protection, and he will second it with an indeared protestation; to insert Monumentall Characters of Honour to grace thee; onely bestow thy bounty, and shew not thy selfe unworthy of so fabulous an Attendant. His Invention is tyed to his Benefactors: then dryes the source of his fancy, when they restrain the Spring of their Bounty.

It is the misery indeed, of the Age, not alwaies to fixe upon Merit: seeing many rare and exquisite Witts, and those singularly improved by continue study, and conference, sleepe many times in silence, unregarded, at least unrewarded: while more sterile Concepts receive advancement. Yet should not these respects make a Scholler forgetfull of so generous a Title, as the

the best-discerning Heralds of Antiquity have bestowed on him. For if wee will credit Authority, or the testimony of such, whose precious-spent Oyle hath deservingly purchas'd them a memorable esteeme, we shall finde the *Style* of a *Scholler* deeply stamped with the Print of honour. Whence it is, that *Citrans* writeth, that in *Prage*, an University of *Bohemia*, where *John Hus* and *Hierom* of *Prage* professed, that they that have continued Professors for the space of Twenty yeeres together, by a constant residence, are created Earles and Dukes both together. And therefore to dignifie their persons the more, their *Style* is to be called *Illustres*; whereas they which are singly and simply but onely either Earles or Dukes, are called *Spectabiles*. Neither maketh it any matter, that they have no revenues to maintaine Earledomes or Dukedomes: for they have the Title notwithstanding; even as Suffragans have of Bishops.

Reflect on these, yee *free-bred Children* of the *Muses*, and you will scorne to expose your deserving Labours to the Mercenary Trade of our impertinent Pamphletters: who *writes* before they *read*; and discover their follies to the world, not to gaine *praise* but *price*.

Observe but what surviving Fame the laborious Workes of knowing Authors have formerly acquired: *Quorum effigies si verè scire cupias, non saxa sed scripta legas*. Admit, they received not that acceptance, while they lived, which their

Inº Itinerario
pag. 444.

Learning of
too precious a
memory, to be-
come merce-
nary.

Let Schollers
leave this de-
serving Motto
of Solons to
their Country;
and if the re-
ward them
not, let it re-
dound to her
ignominy:

“ O Patria li-
bi dicitis & fa-
ctis opulatus
sua!”

Didicitis Phi-
losofiam, &
Philosopiæ flo-
rem, nempe Po-
esem; & non-
tam sprevisis
Sirenem Munda-
di, nempe Fortu-
nam?

elaborate composures deserved: yet though a *Mecenas* sleepe, the whole Judgment of an Age cannot. There will be ever some, who can both *read and iudge*. So precious are these Monuments of Learning, and have beene ever, that should *Fortune* play still her blind part, and reserve the smallest portion for *Minerva's* Followers: They shall live more honour'd in the eye of judgment, because had in disgrace by a painted parcell of foot-cloath State, which never yet aspir'd to a discerning knowledge of Merit.

For tell me, yee happy despicable ones, are you any thing the worse, because despised, where onely Fashion, Complement, or affected ignorance is in request? No; as it is the good mans glory to be disvalued by the evill: so it is your happinesse to receive a disesteeme from these, who pride themselves in nothing but lilken ignorance.

Niobe, in the affluence of her Fortune, could say: “ *Greater am I than Fortune can subdue*. Much more you, who are enriched with farre more precious substance: you have in you what may truly fortifie you: No matter, though your outward house decline, so your inward house retaine her beauty. Let your Workes then confirme your worth: Let them not palliat an untruth: nor for any hope of an unmerited reward, insinuate your selves into the favour of vicious Greatnesse. Make choice of such a *Patron*, whom you may justly commend: let his *Vertues* rather than his *Fortunes* binde you to him.

Many

Many have perished in opinion of the world; by addressing their Labours to undeserving Personages: or by writing in way of Commendation, upon unworthy Subjects. Good Wits should be better employed; and if weak, the Better have writ enough for them to admire.

Direction in
the Election
of Subjects.

These two sorts (as not worthy an Histori- call Title) have I proscribed the bounds of my discourse: if betwixt such two dangerous shelves, I can finde a retired harbour for the truely named *Historian* to breath himselfe in, I have attained my wished expectance. The meane betwixt these two, gives us observation of noting causes and effects, how produced, and how ended: Counsells and successes, how intended, how administred. Then hee proceeds further, making resemblance betwixt Nature and Nature, State and State, the government of this Province and of that: then differences of Actions and Events: some wisely carried, bearing themselves faire, and promising a compleat satisfaction to the undertaker: yet what opposition betwixt the end and beginning, ruine being the period, or extreme of his hopes? Many such opposite *Conversions*, or *Catastrophes* rather, may we dayly see in the managements of Warres. Who more happy in his Countries protection, and who more successive in his prosecution, than *Pompey* the great in his first entrance to Martiall exploits? Yea, (as *Cesar* acknowledged himselfe) he had conquered, if he had knowne when he had conquered: yet in event, whose designs more unhappy? Not

*Vicissitudo, sive
vicisse cognovisset.*

only deprived of the bent of his hopes; proscribed (as it were) his native Countrey, and enforced to hegge a poore Sepulchre in a forraine Countrey: but even most oppressed by their cruelty, whose service under his owne Banner, had beene rewarded royally. Such discourses often move in men a cominiseration, in seeing Vertue so ill guerdoned, and Vice (under a counterfeite garbe) of Innocence, receive an immerited reward. And this certainly have most Historians ever observed in their Writings: so lively to expresse the disasters of deserving men, that their Relations might move a kinde of sensible pittie and remorse in the peruser, which is best exemplified by circumstances: for the time, place, cause, and person, with other necessary Adjuncts, doe (for the most part) lay a more open and smooth Tract to the inforcement of passion. *Lu- can*, that Heroick Historian, brings forth *Cornelia* sitting upon the shore, where her Husband tooke his last farewell of her: where (like another *Niobe*) she makes a Limbeck of her eyes, and descants her owne calamity, oft wishing his returne; and when deprived of his sight, yet the eye of her imagination represents a new object of sorrow. Here, in such royall compositions, and funerall conclusions, he describes the diversity of Nature, in two contrary subjects: a servant faithfull, sitting o're the headlesse trunk of his unhappy Master: a slave as ungratefull, haling his once well-esteemed Lord and Generall to the fatall shoare: where (without raste of remorse,

Moving Histo-
rians.

How to move
passion and by
what circum-
stances.

remorse, remembrance of former merits, or regard of Countries love) hee deprives him of life.

When *Marc. Antonie* was to present the cruelty committed upon *Cesar* in that fatall surprize he received in the Capitol: that he might move more compassion in his Hearers; who, as they were for most part *Plebeians*, so secular Presentments usually worke deepest impression with them: shewed in his Funerall Oration the thirty three wounds wherewith *Cesar* was deprived of life by his Conspirators. Which baring of his body, and discovery of his wounds, with an aggravation of the odiousnesse of the fact, being acted by his owne pretended friends, begot in them an universall sorrow. Nothing but revenge could relish well with them, after this so dolefull a Spectacle.

This that excellent Historian, (*Appian. Alexand.*) expresseth in such a passionate manner, as his Lines can hardly produce any lesse effect from an attentive Reader. For you shall ever observe, that the Imagination workes more to life than the Line: So as, when such a Discourse is laid open to us, we begin to recollect the Circumstances: as the place where such a Tragicke Sceane was acted; the persons interess'd; the quality of the person suffering: all which are so enlivened by the imagination, as it makes the Reader a Spectator. so strong and sinewy is the concept of him who understands what he reads.

Choranius, who had beene *Prator*, being

An excellent
Art in moving
passion, in-
stanced in *Ap-
plan. Alexan-
drinus.*

condemned and now attached by the Souldiers, during those Factions of the *Trium-viri*, intreated them to forbear from offering violence, till he might send his sonne to speake with *Antonie*; imagining, good Old man, that his sonne out of a naturall affection and reverence to his gray haire, would interceed for him, but they laughed at his suite, answering him, that his sonne had spoken, but it was to the contrary: When the old man heard this, he desired them to tarry till hee had scene his Daughter; whom when he saw, he commanded "*shee should abstaine from his goods, lest her Brother should sue for her Death unto Antonie.*" But observe the fatall issue of Disobedience! This unnaturall Sonne, having consumed prodigally all his goods, the unhappy remainder of his Fathers fortunes, became afterwards attached of Felony, and saved himselfe by flight: where living in a tedious Exile, hee closed his dayes as miserably, as his former course was unnaturall.

A plenteous Store-house of Examples for all conditions is *History* in it selfe. Which conduce much to the regulating of our life; and preparing our selves for death. For if wee shall but consider the resolution of such, who for popular honour, Countries esteeme, or safety of State, have with all readinesse encountred Death: yea, who rather than they would endure to see any Tyrannick Severaignty introduced; or the ancient Lawes and Customes of their Nation disannulled, would suffer the worst of all extreames: much

A memorable story of an unnaturall Son, and his miserable end.

much more we, who fight for a better Countrey; and whose hopes extend the period of time, in the pursuite of our Victory.

There is an Epigramme of *Callimachus* upon *Cleombrotus* the *Ambrociian*, whom he sayes (to expresse the force of humane reading) after that he had perused *Plato's* booke of the *Immortality of the Soule*, forthwith, without any other apparent cause, cast himselfe headlong downe from a Wall.

Ruse. Quest.
lib. 1.

What effects Historicall Readings have begot, all Times can beare sufficient Record: where some, whose remisse spirits durst never enter lists with any common danger, by being frequently vers'd in Relations of this kinde, became valiant Commanders. Others, in the Survey of Acts done in defence of Ladies honours, as if those Historicall Narrations solely aymed at them, be-tooke them to the same Enterprize. No Taske too difficult, no designe so impaled with danger, which with a cheerefull smile they would not encounter; so they might vindicate any wronged Ladies honour. Others, hearing those ancient distractions betwixt their owne native Soile, with some other Nation: and the injuries their Countrey suffered; have revived those wounds already cicatrised, and vowed a revenge for indignities nearely worn out by time. Such lively Presentments are Histories, as they have power to beget spirit in the pusillanimous, constancy in the couragious, modesty in the magnanimous, with a sweete attemperature of all vertues

vertues (whereof Clemency is the prime flower) in the Victorious.

Such as defiled their native purity with impiety, by giving themselves over unto pleasure; and had stayned the Nobility and splendour of their Soules through wallowing in Vice, or otherwise fraudulently by usurpation or base insinuation, had crept into Sovereignty, or unjustly governing the Common-wealth; such thought *Socrates*, that they went a by-path separated from the councill of the Gods: But such as, while they lived in their bodies, imitated the life of the Gods, such he thought had an easie returne to the place from whence they first came.

*Tusc. Quest.
Lib. 1.*

Of which Subject *Egesias* the *Cyrenian* resolved so amply, and discoursed so powerfully, that he was forbidden of King *Psolomeneus* to teach the same in Schooles, for that many after his Doctrine willingly killed themselves.

These Disputations in those times free from the shock of warre, and inconveniences ever attending Hostility, were usually professed and praised. But when the *Gowne* and *Laurel* gave way to the *Launce*, such arguments ceased: Philosophy became out of request: Martiall Discipline the sole determiner of causes. Fields became Theaters, where such Scenes of sorrow were Acted; as the Conquerour could not say that those booties were cleare gaynes which hee had purchased. This moved that princely compassionate *Cesar*, sometimes to compare his own Imperiall game with a *Democraticall* losse. To

com-

comfort that disconsolate *Cornelia*, whose eies were ever flowing in the remembrance of her injured Lord. To recall to minde those many eminent Statists, whose glory it was to imbrace Death willingly, rather than become Subjects of his Victory. To recount (if Figures could finde place for such a number) those many beds made Widows; those many Infant-orphans by his *Pharsalia*. Hee findes the Senate dissolved; all those Orders and Officialls conducing to a Politicall State (while popular command bore sway) rooted. The tongue of Eloquence he findes charmed: and to his innovated State solely chained. He findes *Ianus* Temple open, and hee is conscious to himselfe, why it was opened: and now he shuts it, but not without a sigh, for he knows not how soone it may be opened. Hee views with a serious Ceremony the Statues of his once living, but now interred friends: and in a more pallionate recollection of his owne affaires, hee considers, how his ambition brought many of them to ruine. Hee lookes when those livelesse Shrines of his loving Allies should tender him a re-greet, at least an inforced smile, as a congratulating testimony of his Victory. But he findes them Emblemes of himselfe; meere shadows of empty greatnesse; a place they hold, and that is all.

An excellen^t
Discourse of
Imperiall
frailey.

Having now taken a full view of his Princely Pratorian, his fatall Capitoll, and all those memorable Beauties which either Art or State could bring to their full height; hee

Q

takes

No Empire
can confine
the heart of
her Emperor.

takes measure of himselfe : and hee findes his heart as unconfin'd as it was before. Triangular it is, which, should it possesse the world, can no more by the Circumference of the world be confin'd, than a Triangle by a Circle is to be fill'd. He eyes his owne Composition ; and hee neither findes his body more strengthened, nor the line of his life probably lengthned ; nor the stayes of his Empire better setled. And now he fees in his owne breast, what hee never felt before ; numerous cares, nocturnall feares : So as, should he be so secured from all outward foes, as nothing could occasionally trouble him without ; he findes such a Battalion within, as he ingenucutly acknowledgeth Liberty to be farre more precious than Sovereignty ; all which hee findes the experimentall fruits of his Victory. And now he would converse a little with Mortality, which that it may take more impressiv'e Prints upon the face of Majesty, hee goes to the Monument of his vanquish'd Foe ; One sometimes equall to himselfe for greatnesse ; and transcendent (if the generall Vote and Voice of *Rome* deserve credit) to him in goodnesse. And what findes he ingraven on that mouldred shrine, but the *Effigies* of an headlesse Trunke, distinguished by this impresse : "*Hic situs est Magnus!*" Every where hee findes Fortune his professed foe : and the want of knowledge how to manage a Victory, the occasion of his owne fall.

Hee sees the dislaught'ed Corps both of his Friends and Foes equally bleeding : for his Triumph,

umph, he conceives it short in measure of those numerous wounds by him occasioned; those profuse Rivulets of blood his hand h'as effused; those Oceans of distreaming teares his Conquests have procured.

Such Tragick occurrents require their *Emphasis*, and a kind of un-usuall working passion: that the History may present to our eyes, the very acts how they were done; making her Discourse (as it is) a Theater of humane Actions. I know pittifull stories have strange effects, if amply described: For Warriars themselves in the report of their owne misfortunes (of all men most pitiless) have hardly contained themselves from teares. *Aeneas* wept to see the ruines of his Countrey so lively depicted in *Dido's* Hall: But when he beheld his poore Father *Anchises* hanging on his owne shoulders, (having no other refuge in so imminent disasters) *Suspiria mittit*, he could weepe no longer: for teares mitigate griefe; but with a passionate silencing of his miseries, treasured his un-utterable woes in the balefull Centre of his heart.

Lively impressions of remorse, drawne from the Sonne towards the Father.

Xerxes, when of a populous Army, as ever passed out of *Asia*, hee had but so many left as might attend him in a poore Cock-boat, to accompany him in his distressed expedition, the History mentions, that hee wept bitterly; entilling himselfe, *The ruine of his Countrey, the slaughter of many resolute Souldiers*. Nay, *Titus* himselfe, the Flower of all the *Roman* Emperours, in the sacke and subversion of that once glorious

City *Ierusalem*, is said to weepe exceedingly, beholding so many lamentable Objects of pittie (dead carkasses lying in open ditches) so as not able to containe himselfe, he cryed out, *I call Heaven to witnesse, I am not the cause of this peoples slaughter.* Many such representments wee have very usuall in Histories, motive for their passion, and memorable for their end; proceeding from the just Judgment of God, to caution others by their miserable falls.

Comparing of Histories very necessary.

There is another propriety in a History, which should be observed: and that is a Judicious collation, or comparing of Histories one with another. The defect and want hereof, is the principall cause why so maine discordancies & meere oppositions in Histories arise: and that not in circumstances alone, but in materiall points, as originall foundations of Cities, succession of Princes miscited, the sites of Countries (an observance more Geographical) ill-disposed; with many other errors, which are grounded upon no other reason, than the want of conferring such Histories together, as tend to the present Subject wee have in hand. Nay, were it not much thinke you, now to prove directly, that the very Computation of yeeres which they derived from their ancient Kalendar; and which they observed as Ceremonially and Religiously (in their kind) as wee the yeeres from CHRIST'S Incarnation, was very defective among themselves?

A difference among the Pagans in their Computation of yeeres.



Yea, to shew you, how Chronologers differ concerning those yeeres from the Worlds Creation,

tion, to *Christs* Birth: some affirming, there be 3929, as *Beroaldus*: some 3952, as *Hierome* and *Bede*: some 3960, as *Luther* and *Iohannes Lucidus*: some 3963, as *Melancthon* in his Chronicle, and *Functius*: some 3970, as *Bullinger* and *Tremellius*: some towards 4000, as *Buntingus*.

Sundry probable opinions every one of these alledged; yet in Computation constantly different. No doubt, but Transcriptions these men had to confirme their Opinions: how then came these to be so defective, or different one from another? Divers have no lesse diversly laboured to resolve this Objection; then they have with impertinency of Reasons intangled the understanding with new doubts. Much was proposed by them Argumentatively, nothing Positively concluded; being by Opponents no lesse probable in their Arguments, than confident of their Judgments, opposed. Howbeit, touching this our Computation, wee rest sufficiently grounded. This onely is the occasion of our inference in this particular: purposely to deliver unto you the diversity, and consequently the maine deficiency of such Transcripts, as former times have recommended to Posterity.

Neither need wee wonder that in our owne Kingdome, those who have for many yeeres preceded us, should afford no great light or direction to their Successours; seeing, Saint *Hierome* in the end of his Dialogue against the *Pelagians*, (a booke of excellent Learning and divine Discourse) writeth thus: "The Province of

Hieron. in Dialog. cont. Pelag.

“*Brittaine*, which hath beene oftentimes gover-
 “ned (note the deplorable estate of this Iland
 “in those daies) by Tyrants and other Hostile
 “people; Nations bounding or bordering upon
 “the Ocean Sea, were utterly ignorant of *Moses*
 “and the Prophets: So that then, by the testimo-
 ny of Saint *Hierome*, all our Religion was Hea-
 thenish superstition: all our Church-service was
 Idolatry: all our Priests were *Panims*: all our
 Gods were Idols. And to appropriate to every
 Nation their peculiar God, there was then in
Scotland, the Temple of *Mars*: in *Cornwall*, the
 Temple of *Mercury*: in *Bangor* in *Wales*, the
 Temple of *Minerva*: in *Malden* in *Essex*, the
 Temple of *Victoria*: in *Bath*, the Temple of *A-*
pollo: in *Leicester*, the Temple of *Ianus*: in *York*,
 where *St. Peters* is now, the Temple of *Bello-*
na: in *London*, where *Pauls* is now, (and now
 to more than her pristine beauty restored) the
 Temple of *Diana*: Therefore it is very likely, by
 comparing these Times with preceeding Anti-
 quity, that they esteemed as highly then of the
 Goddesse *Diana* in *London*, as they did in *Ephesus*:
 and that as they cryed there, *Great is Diana of the*
Ephesians; so they cryed here, being deluded
 with the same spirit, and transported with the
 same pursuit of profit, *Great is Diana of the Lon-*
doners. Nay, even no more than 53. yeeres be-
 fore the Incarnation of *Christ*, when *Julius Ca-*
sar came out of *France* into *England*, so absurd,
 senselesse, and stupid were the people of this
 Land, that instead of the true and ever-living
 Lord,

a *Stow* in *Annal.* in *vit.*
Morgani.
 b *Cambreni*
Briton. in *Es-*
sexia.

c *Stow* *Annal.*
 in *vita* *Bladud*
 & *Leire* *Re-*
gum, & *Seve-*
ri Imperato is.
 d *Juchius* in
Tractat. de sa-
cris Scripturis.
 p 12. 129.
 Act. 19. 28.

Lord, they served those Heathenish and abhominable Idols, *Mars, Mercury, Minerva, Victoria, Apollo, Ianus, Bellona, Diana,* and such like. No great marvell then, that people so wholly illiterate and ignorant in the Law of *Moses*, should be unknowne to the Computation of yeeres descending from *Moses*. But for the Pagans themselves to be ignorant in their Annuall Accompts with such superstitious solemnity observed; with such constant Feasts solemnized: and every yeere, in their personall visits (especially for their *Olympick* and *Isthmian* Games) memorized: it may seeme strange to affirme, but a taske of more difficulty to confirme.

And yet this is easily done; for their opinions about their *Olympiads* in *Greece*, for the time of their *Erection* are divers: The foundation of *Rome* as uncertaine, since the Founder himselfe is not as yet generally agreed of; for the divers Relations of *Numitor* and *Amulius, Romulus* and *Remus*, with their Mother *Rhea*, or *Ilia*, (as some will have it) make up a Labyrinth of themselves without further confusion. But to inferre the strange conveyance (or *Apotheosis*) of *Romulus*, suddenly vanished forth of their sight, and by the testimony of *Iulius Proculus*, transplanted to some other place of more eminence; hardly deserves the credit of an Historian: Yet some there be which shew more favour to this famous Founder of *Rome*, daigning to bestow a Monument of him, which is erected for him in the Temple *Quirinus*. Indeed it were little enough

*Vid. Aul. Gel.
& Laert.*

to memorize so renowned an Establisher with a Tombe, and to consecrate the place of his Buriall; as *Achylles* Tombe, or Monument in *Sygeum*, *Theseus* in *Athens*, *Ajax* in the *Rhetian* shore, and *Alcides* Reliques in *Oëta*: Read but over the *Roman* Annals, and you shall finde the discordancies of Historians in these Computations of times to be great: As especially the destruction of *Troy*, confounding the severall times of *Troyes* sacking, missing their Accompt from *Laomedon* to the succession of *Priam*. But I have touched the errour enough, let us now descend to the prevention of it.

Transcriptions
of times
uncertaine &
defective.

Before we take in hand any Discourse, wee must alwayes meditate of the meanes, ere we can attaine the end: Which end is soonest atchieved, when we addresse our selves for such Subjects (as have beene in our time) wherein we may receive Instruction, by some that have beene interrested in those Affaires, of farre more certainty than any Transcription. But intending our Studies to any Forraine Relation (whereof it may be wee have some one Record) I would not depend upon the Antiquity of the Record (for wee have many ancient Fables) but recollect my selfe and examine the probability, whether such particulars are like to beare resemblance of truth or no. And herein wee imitate the Ancientest and best Authorized Historians that ever wrote.

Valerius Maximus had recourse, not onely to *Roman* Annals, (which were kept with great care) but hee used to conferre with such as had
any

any Breviats of the *Romane* Lives in their hands : Comparing them together, that hee might cull and chuse out from the best Authors (as himselfe witnesseth) such documents, as not onely propagated the glory and pristine height of his Countrey; but might move succeeding ages to emulate their Vertues.

The like of that true Moral Historian *Plutarch*, whose Style so modestly garnished, and so sententiouly concluding, hath (and not without cause) purchased him the name of the Father of *Histories*.

Laërtius, a worthy recorder of those famous Sages of *Greece*; describes his Countries happinesse with great modesty : Whose Sentences may beseme the gravest Understanding to extract, and upon occasion to accommodate to his owne purpose. Here he shewes Spirit in a Phylosophers Pen, one opposing himselfe agaynst a Tyrant; There a Moralist, making young men fit Sociates for the maturest times : Here a Cynicke, contemning the glory of the World, though offered him; There a merry *Greeke*, laughing at the Vanities of men wholly besotted and subjected to mundane slavery. O what Christian-like Maxims, what Divine conclusions, what solid Arguments, what enforcing reasons be there included, onely to move men to the embrace of vertue? With Discourse plentiful enough in oppositions betwixt *Ethnicke* and *Ethnicke*; stripping Nature (if it were possible) in reasoning, and drawing an argument, neere to Divine

The variety of
discourse in
Laërtius.

probation, and ready to confirme it, if the generall blindnes of the Time, and their want of further Revelation would admit of their assertion.

Thus much for the former branch of my Division, of *Histories True and Authenticke*: Now I will entreate of Relations Feigned; yet such as Moralized include an excellent meaning, drained from the uncorrupted Springs of *Helicon*.

Feigned Relations or Poëticall Histories.

Homer an Excellent & Heroicke Poet; shadow'd only at, because my Iudicious Friend Master Tho. Heywood, hath taken in hand (by his great industry) to make a Generall (though summary) description of: all the Poets lives; and with farre more felicity, I hope, than his mytterious discourse of Angels.

ALL Relations feigned are not to be excluded: for many Poëticall Narrations there be which comprehend in them a wonderfull sharpnesse of judgement, pregnancy of Invention, and a great meature of Discretion; of which sort, none more excellent then the Workes of *Homer*, weaving many pretty conceites in the web of his History, to make the Subject it selfe more pleasant. The more I commend him to the reading of the judiciously Generous, because I could never find in his Works any scurrulous Affectation, but prosecuting his Discourse with a modest gravity, as if Nature, that had deprived him of his corporall sight, had done it, to make the eie of his understanding more piercing. For who so reads the Majesty of his Style, the well-cought Fables immixt in his War betwixt the *Greeks & Trojans*, may as in a Store-house, imagine the Treasures of all Wits to be locked up in him. Many excellent Histories have beene derived from him, as well in Prose as contracted Measures; for his pleasing variety relieth more then others, because through all his Workes, hee useth lesse digression then

then others: and pittie it is, that every impolish'd hand should have to doe with the Transcription of his Labours: grieving the poore Blind-man with their blindness: For who so blind as Bajard? And if *Stesycorus* was worthily stricke blind for Commenting on *Venus* beauty, and discommending *Hellens* forme: Much more deserve they an exacter punishment, that dare with an unprepared sleightnesse, Comment on his eterniz'd Labours, who detected *Venus* lust, and portraied *Hellens* Inconstancy.

Labours dis-
parraged by
Translators.

To prescribe in what Tongue *Histories* are to be read, I know their owne garment is most native. But such have bin the disparraging Labours of our *English* Translators, that *Romes* Tongue, and *Greeces* Characters, grow as vulgar and common with us, as the *Italian* Garbe: so as wee seeme beholding to others, both for Speech and Raiment. I doe know some Workes are necessary to be Translated. being such as expresse the politicke states of Realmes; which imparted to the illiterate, oftentimes conferre no little benefit to our Countrey. But other Works there be, which Modesty would have concealed, being Records of the Vitiousnesse of former times; as the Obscene and sensuall convents, or prostitutions rather, of those mirrors of Impiety, the *Roman* Emperours; the Relation whereof acquaints the depraved too well with such Impudence.

Many illiterate
of the exactest
Iudgment.

To admit of such Workes, or to give Patronage to such, not only fruitlesse but dishonest Labours, hath beene in all times a great occasion of

The free passage of wanton works, the inaine source of corrupting Youth.

corrupting youth, nourishing Vice, and introducing a sensuall liberty amongst such, who in regard of their eminence of place, should have bin Patrons and patternes of piety. For if anciently all occasions of loosenesse were so much prevented, as even outward Habits or other externall gestures made them censured: How much more should *Authors*, whose oyle should be so imployed, as a benefit to some, a prejudice to none ought to be occasioned; labour to compose such *Works*, or faithfully Translate such *Labours*, as may conferre a succeeding profit to the State, to which they stand more particularly interess'd. Lascivious lines produce vicious lives: seeing men for most part, are more Apishly addicted to the imitation of any vice, then seriously affected to the attention of Vertue. Scandall is a dangerous thersel: neyther is there any Tetter more noxiouly spreading o're the face, then fements and occasionall motives of inordinate lightnesse is to our life.

Lacides, that *Argive* King, was accounted lascivious only for his fleek lookes, and mincing gate. So *Pompey*, a profest Champion of valour and honour, because he used to scratch his head with one finger; albeit very continent and modest. So *Crassus*, onely because hee would have bought a Farine of a *Vestall Virgin*, for which intent only, he used to converse with her, was suspected to have abused her. *Posthumia*, because out of a naturall inclination, given to laughter, and something forward to talke with men, was suspected

Vnlesse occasions be prevented, the most integrous may be impeached.

pected of her honesty; whereof being openly accused, she was acquitted by *Spurius Minusius* with this Caveat, *saufe words suteable to her life.*

Now, if Habit, Gesture, or Discourse beget such a suspicion amongst *Pagans*; what should publicke Workes, whereto Authority gives improvement, do amongst *Christians*? In our readings, as wee should be *Bees* and no *Spiders*: brouzing and sucking the fragrant'st and wholesome'st hearbs, and no lesse seasonably converting them to the best substance: So should those, who intend to publish ought; no lesse sincerely then seriously ponder thus with themselves, before they impart themselves to the World: "whereto
"tends this passage? will not the ambiguity of it
"probably beget a mis-construction, and consequently
"some occasion of corruption? Have
"our lines their full weight? do they beare that
"proportion, which may sort with the quality of
"that Subject wherof they treat? do they neither
"fall short of the Time, by contracting or injuriously
"concealing, what should be discovered:
"Or above the time, by dilating too amply, and
"annexing a Comment, where the *Text* it selfe
"would have served? Is there nought that may
"offend a modest care, or deprave an unsettled
"thought? May the State receive it, and be not
"prejudic'd by it: Or the most censorious *Criticke*
"peruse it, and without just ground disrelish it?

Princely *Augustus*, who ever retayned in him a Morall piety, aswell as an Imperiall Majesty;

Plate.

for lesser had the latter besetted him, had not the former accompanied him; would not permit his *Livia* to read light works: no question, light labours make many of our *Livia's* light. For as the Lover is ever blinded with affection towards his beloved: so it fareth with these, who affected to light passages, in the end so fixe their deluded conceites upon them, as they admire nothing with more constancy, then such Subjects as wrought those love-sicke passions on their besotted fancy.

A just reproof
of indiscreet
Translations.

But to recede to our Discourse of *Histories* of this nature; I find many unprofitable passages in the Translation of our *Histories*; which the discretion of a temperate and well-composed *Interpreter* might have well omitted: neither should he in this have prejudic'd his Author, but acquir'd more honour to himselfe by his Labour. I could instance many passages in sundry *Roman Historians*, which might discreetly have beene omitted without any defect or maim at all to their *History*: and by omitting those lighter digressions, ministred lesse offence to a modest Reader.

Truth is, we are apt enough to become deprav'd by our owne illimited affections; and little need to have a plat-forme drawne to us, to beget in us a new brood of vicious inventions. Many particulars, no doubt, might suit well the History in his Originall, in respect of the time, place, and persons, wherein and to whom it was addressed: which, attired in another Dialect, and published in these our latter times, would not
relish

relish so well to a cleare Judgement.

That conspicuous Light of the Easterne Church, whose Devotion and Learning have contracted themselves in so unanimous a manner, as no succeeding Age but shall reape benefit by the perusal of his holy Labours; saith, that anciently the *Romans* worshiped *Vertue* and *Honour* for Gods. Whence it was, that they built two Temples, which were so seated, as none could enter the Temple of *HONOUR*, unless he first passed through the Temple of *VERTUE*: to signifie, that none was to be honoured, unless by some *Vertue* he had first deserved it. The Morall admits no other ingenuous Exposition, than its owne genuine expression: For *Honour*, none should be so daring-bold, or presumptuously confident upon a credulous conceit of their owne worth, as to wooe her, much lesse to winne her, till by passing through *Vertues* Temple, he get free admittance unto her.

Now tell me, what *Honour* shall accrue to those goodly Labours, beautified with glorious Frontispieces, garnished with all the Ornaments and Embellishments of Art, countenanc'd by a powerfull Patron, and accommodated with all those Helps which the extensive Labours of an *Author* can require: when it shall appeare to the World, that those Lines of his never received approvement from the Temple of *Vertue*? Oh, how many sickly Judgments have I knowne of this sort, who by neglecting their choice of Arguments tending to the advancement of good-

Aug.

In ijs miserè
defecerunt, de
quibus maxi-
mè presumpse-
runt. Sid. Cal.
cal. Hist.

goodnesse, and bestowing their Oyle on such as least deserved their employment, have perished in the esteeme of honest Wits, and disparraged themselves most, where they expected to have beene honour'd most! But as this may be properly construed an error of life, where the affection of an Author, either in respect of the generall inordinacy of the Time, chuseth rather to fit his Pen to the corruption of the Age, by delivering to her what she most affects: or out of a weaknesse and deficiency of Judgment, preferres a light or lascivious Subject, solely apt to deprave many, improve none; before such as are serious, and might tend to the benefit of the Publique, being methodically disposed, and faithfully rendred, as Transcripts of that nature, are to be published. So there is another error commonly arising from ignorance of the Language, wherein such a Subject was writ. As the *Greeke*, so is the *Latine* copious and fluent: in both which it is very easie to offend, either by too childish rendring, or erroneous mistaking of the Originall expression.

But the *Latine* Tongue being of most use, because of generallst Notion through the World; as also for that most of the *Greeke* Histories were rendred by faithfull Interpretors in that Tongue, received most acceptance: and that not onely in the *Latian* confines, but in more remote places where other Tongues were in request.

We read in *Dion Cassius*, of a principall man in *Greece*, that by *Claudius* was put from the
Order

order of Judges, for being ignorant of the Latin Tongue.

That in all the regions of *Pannonia* it was known: *Velleius* will afford you sufficient authority.

Secondly, that it was spoken in a free and native Idiom, in *France* and *Spaine*.

Thirdly, in *Affricke*.

And (to reflect upon more Divine authorities) it seemeth that the Sermons of *Cyprian* and *Augustine* yet extant (of *Augustine* it is manifest) that they preached to the people in Latin. But in the East parts of the Empire, as in *Greece* and *Asia*, and so likewise in *Affricke*, from the greater *Syrtis* East-ward, it appeares not in our reading nor collection from others, that the *Roman* Tongue ever grew into any common use. And the reason of it seemes to be, for that in those parts of the Empire it became most frequent, where the most and greatest Colonies were planted.

Now, what absurdities are and have bin usually committed upon ignorance of the Tongue, which they laboured to Translate, I leave to the judicious censures of such, who are frequently vers'd in such Subjects: where they shall finde whole pages mis-construed, whole periods omitted, whereby the Author becomes miserably mangled.

Now, to returne a true levell unto both; as the Originall exprest acts done in that time vnto life; and, perchance, glanced at some egregious abuses of that Time, or rather displayed them in

Vellei. lib. 2.
Strabo. lib. 3.
G 4.
pulcius in
Floridis.

their deepeſt colours : So is his *Translator* in an apt and proper phraſe to render him : and if any impertinent, or (which is worſe) vicious paſſages occurre, with a modeſt ſilence to paſſe over them; rather then by an unneceſſary inſerting of them, informe the preſent age in knowledge of them.

In obſerving this, their *Labours* ſhal deſerve to be inchained in our eminent'ſt Libraries, and retain in them a confirmed fame, while *lighter ſubjects*, which receive their beauty from the complies of Time, or adorne themſelves with the quicke-vading flouriſhes of vanity, ſhall incline to the period of an ealie Fate.

But becauſe I have entred into a Catalogue of Poëticall Hiſtories, I will proceed further into the memorable, and no leſſe ingenious Works of *Hefiod* : Much I cannot Write of Hyſtoricall matter in *Hefiod*; yet what he writ of that Subject, comprehended in it more height and true proportion, then any Poët that ever writ. With what hazarding danger doth hee there delineate the rare Combat between *Ceix* and *Cycnus*? Now equally poizing their valours (as if nature had made them of that equal power) to the end to leave the conflict uncertaine. Preſently (upon occasioned advantage) hee thewes a better and a worſe : yet ſo, as without the leaſt imputation, or diſparrage to either of their ſpirits (making them as imparalell as equal) but applies the event to ſome auſpicious Genius, or Divine Power, favouring one more then another. Straight, with a new paſſage,
he

he proceeds to the resolved exploits of *Hercules*, and with an admirable facility describes his Labours. Hee it was, that by the assisting hand of *Jupiter*, of whom he descended, slew the *Cleonian* Lyon, the *Erimanthian* Boare, the Bull of *Marathon*, the *Lernaean Hydra*, and the winged Hart: Hee who purchased no lesse memorable Trophies in Hell, than on Earth; haling the three-necked *Cerberus*, and rescuing *Proserpina* (if the Supreme Powers had not inhibited) from the tyrannick hands of infernall *Pluto*: Discomfiting the *Centaures*, vanquishing *Achelous* (being his corrivall in the love of faire *Deianira*), the *Stymphalides*, the *Cremona* Gyants, the trayterous *Nessus*, *Anteus*, *Augeas* Stables, Apples of *Hesperides*, *Cacus*, *Busyris*, hurling *Diomedes* to his Horses (to quith his owne tyranny) freeing *Hesyone* from the Whale, sacking *Troy* in revenge of the perfidious *Laomedon*, subduing those invincible Gyants, *Dericlus* and *Albion*, redeeming *Orcalia*, and *Betricia* from the captivity of *Gerion*: and wearing the *Amazon* Baldrick, to intimate his victories in those warlike Provinces.

Hercules Labours.

These, and the like, doth *Hesiod* set downe with that probable coherence, that if the matter it selfe did not imply an impossibility, one would be certainly induced to beleve so concordant an History. Presently he descends to the *Generation* of the *Gods*, making up a Genealogy in that distinct order, as the Pagan Gods (for so one hath observed) were much indebted to him for

so well deserving their pedigree, which without his invention (perhaps) had laine obscure.



How Invention may stand with the texture of an History.

Now, howsoever these Inventions may seeme improper for the state or structure of an *History*; because it behoves an Historian to relate with probability whatsoever hath hapned either in his owne Time or any former Age: Yet are these, imbellishments to *History*; being writ rather to beautifie than confirme; and to cheere the conceit, than to enforce it to an improbable believe. No doubt, but many of those Eminent Heroës, whom Time either flattered, or Oracles deluded, or some other selfe-opinionate Conceit transported, were encouraged to designes of infinite difficulty, to prove themselves descended from a Deity. Besides this, they imagined, being so descended, they were invulnerable. This it was, which put them on Actions above conceit, to disperse their Fame, and preserve that Opinion which the Age retained of their descent. Howsoever, excellent Emblemes were shrcuded under those Poëticall Fictions. *Hirsuta nuces optimas prabent nucleos.* The shell may seeme meane, but the kernell sweete.

Excellent Emblemes shadowed under Poëticall fictions.

When *Achyllus*, that glory of the *Grecians*, had expos'd himselfe to all dangers, that Hostility or the force and fury of an Enemy could presse upon him; in the end, hee was wounded in the heele; for there onely, as the Poëts feigne, he was mortall, and consequently vulnerable. This includes a darke but dainty Morall. Many, howsoever they come on bravely, and can endure
not

not onely the first brunt, but expresse a wondrous height of resolution, during all or most part of the heate of the day, yet in the *beeles* are they wounded. They crowne not the Day of their Actions with a glorious Evening, but faile most when the Merit of their Actions should be most shining. For in this should every Heroick Spirit imitate the Sunne, whose property it is to shew most beauty in the Setting: so they, more in their Close than their Beginning.

Yet, were these Historicall Inventions of the Poëts, touching the *Generation* of the *Gods*; in many respects defective, and in some absurd. Especially, in portraying of them aged, or addicted to some vicious quality or other; wherein they seemed to confound Mortality with Immortality: a pure integrious estate with impiety.

For the first, it was an excellent Saying of *Theocritus*, who observing that popular stupidity of such as reposed their sole confidence in Idols, with the vanity of them: seeing, how even those *Gods*, whose Modells they retained, and to whose memories they were erected, were translated or removed none knew whither; encouraged those who suffered for their Contempt towards those Pagan Deities in this manner: "^a Be
" of good courage, when *Gods* dye before Men. Againe, speaking of a *Mute Deity*: "^b Wherein can
" that *Goddesse* availe him that worships her, who
" cannot speake to him that worships her?

So as *Tullus Hostilius* putting ^c FEARE and PALENESSE in the number of his *Gods*: It is

^a Bone est otcanimo, quando
Dij moriuntur
ante homines.
Theocritus in
Cle. Alex.

Protrep.
^b Quid prestare
volenti potest,
que loqui non potest?
Laëant. de
falsa Rel'g.
lib. 1.

Cap. Dea Muta.
^c Pavorem
Pavoremque.

pitty (saith *Lactantius*) that ever his Gods should goe from him.

Notwithstanding all this, in the relation of their actions and such intervening Occurrents as hapned in their Oppositions, they deserve applause, though no credible approvement. And the more to be admired were their descriptions, in regard they fixed on no other Story either Transcribed, or any other way delivered, then what invention had first moulded and recommended to posterity. Yet observe what congruity these held, both in describing them what they were, from whence they came, what exploits they did, with the severall Offices to which they were designed, or rather Originally interested: and those distinct passages of their lives, with the concurrency of opinions touching their birth, continuance and increase, cannot chuse but beget wonder.

You shall not find in any one of these, peculiar Offices confounded: *Liber* must not intermeddle with the care of the *Vines*; nor *Neptune* play the *Mercurist*. Distinct Offices were recommended to severall supposed Deities: and this the anti-ent *Ethnick*s held with such ceremonious reverence, as nothing could be with more solemnity observed.

For the latter, *absurdity*, wherein the Pagans made their Gods addicted to all vice and impiety: This might have declined them from such adoration; when those Persons whom they so highly honoured, deserved in their actions so little imitation.

tation. But to take *Survey* of those contests or civill Warres amongst themselves; either arising from precedency; or grounded upon jealousy; or some other occasionall distaste, would beget a deserving admiration in any judicious Reader: observing, what Historicall Art derived her light from invention; and in what excellent order disposed, though restrained by rules of dimation.

Lucian deserves his place, whose otherwise ill-deserving parts, being a profest foe to all divine adoration, purchased him an end as miserable as his prophanations merited; being devoured by Dogges: yet in this regard wee have propounded our Opinion about Historicall fictions, I will give him his due place: one of an excellent Wit; ripe Understanding, and laborious withall, to find out the ancient Manuscripts, and records of authorized Histories: yet, forasmuch as his writings are interlarded now and then with invective speeches against the Cœlesti-
all Powers, arguing too much of Natures power, too little of the Sovereigne of Nature: I would have the Generous Reader to prepare himselfe in the perusal of such Discourses, as *Calipso* instructed *Vlysses* against the *Sirens* Inchantments, thus inviting him:

*Huc ades o'ingens Græcorum gloria Vlysses,
Siste Ratem. &c.* ——— Thus Englished.

Come hither Noble *Ithacus*,
of valiant Greekes the choice,
Take harbour here, incline thine eare
unto the *Sirens* voice:

*Homer in Iliad.
Lib. 2.*

For

For there n:re was any did passe,
 since we arrived here,
 This liquid way, but wist to stay,
 our warbling notes to heare.
 Hence pregnant wits, and ripe conceits
 much knowledge have conceiv'd:
 As for the acts you did at Troy,
 we newes long since receiv'd.
 And how the Gods pursu'd the Greekes,
 the Trojans Greekes pursue,
 The Grecians hate in sacking Troy,
 Heavens hate in wracking you.

Of these Inchantments did *Calypso* fore-warn
Ulysses with this preparation, that hee should
 command his Associates in his ship, to bind him,
 when hee approached neere those fatall Harmo-
 nists, and to stop their eares, least they should be
 made a prey to their cruelty. So must every one
 prepare himselfe in such Siren-discourses. The
 liberty of these times, perswades some too easily
 to *Lucians* arguments: and those which (in feare
 of divine power) dare not deny the Omnipoten-
 cy of the Immortall power in word, yet their
 prophane conversation implies an absolute Apo-
 stacy in them in their workes. I wish these di-
 grellions were not needfull: for then I might
 more directly proceed in my discourse, which
 the depravednesse of times will in no case suffer.

But in these feigned Histories I wholly exclude
 all ribaldry; times themselves have instruction
 sufficient for obscene subjects, without any fur-
 ther

Feigned Hi-
 stories appro-
 ved, tending
 to instruction.

ther excitements: nor can I admit, that those unprofitable Stories of *Primalion*, *Palmerin de Oliva*, *The Knight of the Sunne*, *Gerilion*, with many other fictive Discourses, should be entertained by Youth. Many of these Relations have strangely transported divers well-promising Wits into strange amazements; especially such as conceive more delight in them, than more serious studies. Some wee have heard, that in reading the strange adventures of *Orlando Furioso*, and conveying the very impression of his amorous passion to themselves, would presently imitate his distraction, run starke naked, make Love-songs in commendation of their *Angelica*, put themselves to intolerable torments to gaine the affection of their supposed Mistresses. Others, in imitation of some valiant Knights, have frequented Desarts, and uninhabited Provinces, ecchoing in every place their owne vanities, endorsing their Names in barkes of Trees, wholly turned savage and untractable, to personate that Knight more lively.

Such Histories I onely allow of (whether in Prose, or Verse, for Epicks may be writ in either) as yeeld profit with delight; not subjecting their discourse to observe some indiscreet Humour of the Time, for application, but prevention. Many read, and (in the loosnesse of their owne lives) make application of the worst unto themselves; hoping with *Herostatus*, to be memorable for villany: These are like Spiders,

Such Histories onely merit that name, which yeeld profit with delight.

T

flowers

flowers to ranke poyson; the discredit of an History, and a great strengthener of vice.

And here might I take occasion, to fall upon a just reproofe of uselesse Readers of Histories; with such, as cull onely grounds for themselves, to comply with their owne desires: As the *Ambitions*; who reflects onely upon high aëry Spirits: but never makes any use of their fall. An aspiring *Philotas* is the Object hee eyes, and his designs; the Cobby after which he moulds his Actions. Oh, how highly is hee transported, when he sees Ambition mounted: looking ever after *Hamons* Honour, but seldome or never on his Ladder? Indirectest paths are the wayes hee most affects: and like a youthfull *Ascanius*, scorns to walke in common tracks, or to converse with ought lesse than Empires. Hee holds Opinion with that Univerfall Monarch, that *King-*
 domes got by descent, derive to their possessors
 no personall merit. He had rather win than inherit; atchieve by the Sword, than enjoy by succession. Such as these say with *Tiridates* in *Tacitus*; *To*
reterne their owne, is in the power of every private
State; but to ayme at that which is anothers, is a
Princely praise. This it was (as I have elsewhere observed) that caused *Ihemistocles* to walke in the Night-time in the open streere, because hee could not sleepe; the Reason whereof when some men enquired, who were to him more intimately endeeded, he answered, that the Triumph of *Miltiades* would not suffer him to take his rest. So impatient of rest is Ambition, as it cannot

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 sires.

The Ambiti-
 ons mans Ob-
 ject in his
 Reading.

*Sua retinere
 private domus,
 de alteris cer-
 rare regis laus
 est.* Tacit.

Tusc. lib. 4.

cannot endure either Competitor or Equall, but a reflexe had to them infinitely distracts him: so as, he cannot possibly enjoy himselfe, because he envies their greatnesse; whom generall Opinion holds either equall or transcendent to himselfe.

It is no lesse to be wondred at, with what serious attention these ambitious *Fire-flies*, who ever singe their wings in the flames of their owne aspiring; read, and discusse every circumstance tending this way; with a personall application to themselves; as if they were the men which the History aynd at: and whose Actions, they hope; e're long, will beget an *Iliad* to succeeding times, to admire their valour; and to erect surviving Trophies to their surviving honour. Thus doe they catch at shadows, leaving the substance to such judicious and competible Readers; who make use of those ancient Records to their benefit: in collecting what is most usefull, and with a discreet aversion sleighting whatsoever might be occasionally hurtfull.

Nor be these High-flyers, who seldome goe gray-headed to their Graves; onely reproveable in the abuse of their Readings; but the *voluptuous* too: who, when they fall upon any passage that complies with the lightnesse of their fancy, so highly affect it, as nothing more delights them, than to discourse of such airy pleasures, as present themselves in a cursorie manner to their deluded conceits. These are altogether for Stories of Love; where every Line workes such

The Voluptuous mans Object in his Reading.

moving impressions in their unsteady fancies: as they reduce every period of Loves discourse, to a Sceane of Action; wherein they wish themselves Prime-actors, to close in a personall re-greet, with so light and sensuall a Relation.

Ganimedes Rape; Laïs loose Love; white teeth, rolling Eyes, displayed Breasts; a winning Look, a Cerusse Cheeke; a beautifull complexion (an exteriour good, and if corrupted, an interiour evill) being that which Eurypala so much praised, when she washed the feet of Ulysses, namely, Gentle speech and tender flesh: these are proper Subjects for these light-fancied Amorists.

I must confesse, that no History can be so serious, but it must upon occasion relate some lighter passages, which equally poised according to the time, should not breed these effects; but rather beget in a Continent and well-composed Reader, a detestation of whatsoever he shall finde vicious: and an ardent desire after that which shall appeare truely generous and vertuous.

Alcaus, a man of good reputation, and generall observance in the Common-wealth, what toies wrot he of the love of yong-men; immixing sometimes those lighter fancies in his seriousst Subjects? All the Writings of Anacreon (as if those Discourses had got highest place in his Invention) were onely of love. But most of all others, Reginus even burned with Love, as appeareth by his Writings; being continued passages of winning delight: and intrancing the unwary peruser of his amorous Conceits, with de-
ceiving

ceiving shadows. Yea, even Philosophers, (and that by the Councell and Authority of *Plato*, whom therefore *Dicæarchus* did worthily reprehend) became the Commenders and Honourers of Love. For *Dicæarchus*, a *Silician* Philosopher, and *Aristoteles* Scholler, Writing a Booke of the SPARTAN Common-wealth, distasted highly the opinion of such, who bearing the style of grave and reverend Men, gave way in their Workes, that any liberty should be introduced into a civill state: or authorized any Labours, were they Historical, Poëticall or Mixt, to have freedome in corrupting youth, or depraving the prime seedes of easie and pliable dispositions. These, who stand thus affected, and whose Readings are soly fixt upon sensuall delights; it were fitting for them to weane their affections, at least, to divert their eyes from those sensible Objects, which ingage reason to the servile Obedience of appetite, and to re-collect their *Diviner parts*, to patternes of continence: such as may informe them what to do; how to remove occasions: and consequently, free their inward Mansions or Receptacles from these corruptions. An excellent Pattern or incomparable Mirror in the command or Sovereignty of his affections, did that yong man *Spurina* in *Valerius Maximus*, shew himselfe, whose beauty did so infinitely become him, as it occasioned many Women to lust after him: which this noble youth no sooner perceived (note this admirable act in a Pagan) then hee wounded

Val. Max. lib. 4
cap. 9.

his face, that by the skarhe sustained, his beauty might become more blemished, and consequently, all occasion of lusting after it, clearly removed. Diverse instances, though not altogether so impressive, might be here inserted, tending to like use; but brevity, as it is the helpe of Memory, so my desire is to accommodate the Reader with instances usefull and commedious, rather then unnecessarily numerous.

The Covetous mans
Object in his
Reading.

Nor be the *Covetous*, (if their desire of gathering may admit so much time as to peruse an *History* in a whole age) lesse reproveable in this kinde. For these, if they finde one Worldly wise; no matter though he not onely grounded but improved his estate by Extortion, and raised his posterity to an unknowne Title of Gentry by deceit and collusion: yet must his life and actions be the line of their directions.

They looke not on *Midas* fate, but his golden state. *Talus* they desire, nor care they much (so they may purchas it) to be drowned in it. These hold no substance to be purely good, unlesse it be guilded with gold. These never remember the saying of that wise *Simonides*; who being asked once, whether *Vertue* or *Riches* were of more reputation; made answer, *That the vertuous did more frequent the doors of the Rich, then the Rich of the vertuous*. Implying, that piety was for the most part attended on by pouerty; but seldome was vertue accompanied by prosperity.

Now to apply an antidote to this infection, and cure in them this distemper'd affection; as the

the *Phitornes* Home is of such soveraigne vertue, as being dipt in water, it cleares and purifies it: so must their earthy depressed mindes be purified by some powerfull infusion; or they will never endure to alter their disposition. To remove then those scales which darken their intellectuall part; their only safe course is to withdraw themselves a little from talking with Earth: and to fix the eye of their Contemplation on a diviner Object; the *Stoicks* use of Heaven; The vanity, frailty and mutability of the one, will inhance the quality and dignity of the other. The meere mentall observance of these, without any further experience; (wherein Historically examples will afford no small light) cannot chuse but qualifie their Temper, and enforce them to crye out with that Divine father: *O how miserable is the World, and how miserable they who follow the World! seeing, that men of this World have alwayes excluded their workes from partaking of life in the World to come.*

Thus have we traced over the various paths of three vicious Readers, all others may be in these included; who make not that benefit of *History*, to which it was primarily addressed; but by fruitlesse & unnecessary observations, disparrage their owne judgments, in preferring those before passages of more high and usefull consequence. So as, I may properly resemble them to *Uselesse Travellers*, who take notice of such things as are most frivolous, or what is worse, vicious.

Others there be, that transported onely with
the

O quam miserimus est mundus, & miseri qui eum sequuntur! Semper enim homines Mundi opera excluderunt a vita.

Chryl. sup. Mac.

*He resembles fruitlesse Readers to uselesse Travellers, who take notice of such things as are most frivolous, or which is worse, vicious.

the delight and present variety of the History, make History onely (as our Gallants do their Tobacco) a spender of Time: They apply not the fruit or use of Histories, but as in some pleasant or delightfull dreame, satisfied for the present time; but past, quite razed out of Memory. In stories of this nature, (such I meane as be feigned) I approve of those best that resemble Truth the neereft, according to *Flaccius* opinion:

Ficta voluptatis causâ sine proxima veris.

For the impossibility of the Relation oftentimes maketh the Subject more ridiculous: whereas the concordancy, or apt connexion of the History (though the maine plot be false) enforceth more attention.

And thus much of *Poëticall Histories*: I will come to the second Branch of my Division of Histories (to wit) *Morall*.

Morall Histories.

M*orall Histories* be such, as conduce to a Civil and Morall institution of Life or Manners; Teaching what is to be done, and what avoided. *Xenophon* in his Instruction of *Cyrus*, propounds what reasons should especially induce a Morall Historian to speake more of examplary Motives to Vertue, then any thing else; "Because (saith "he) if *Cyrus* had not bin elected King amongst "Shepherds, it may be, he had never reigned "over the *Persians*: but the very Title, which was "given him by Rurall Swaines, enforced him "to attempt further.

Morall

Morall Histories teach Men to behave themselves in all affaires: If imployed in Embassages, Commerce, or any Negotiation whatsoever, it directs them how to hazard fairely, beare themselves discreetly, and support the burthen imposed on them stoutly. These kind of stories are the best Nurses, they weane us from childish effeminacy, and Traine us in more virile and Man-like actions: so as Education is called by the Philosopher, *A second Nature*, habituating us to the kind of our breeding: Morality likewise is called, the *Soveraignesse of Education*, *The square of humane Actions*, *the best Schoole-mistresse for unbridled youth*, *that restraines affections raging*, *erects our passions too much asswaging*, *tempers our spirits*, and *Reduceth us to that perfect Symmetry*, *Vt ex pede Herculem*, you may know *Hercules* by his foote, the inward habit by externall appearance.

Hence was it that *Alexander* gloried so much of his *Stagyrian* Moralist: *Achyllis* of his *Phanix*: of whom he had received so much good, as hee ingeniously acknowledged; by *Phanix* he could both, *Bene dicere*, & *bene agere*.

To be briefe, there is no exorbitancy in Nature, which by Morall Narrations hath not bin reformed: *Seneca* was naturally covetous: which disposition, or malady rather, he shrowds covertly in that sentence of his, inserted in his Book, *De Tranquillitate Anima. Nec agroto, nec valeo*. Yet by daily conference with Morall Histories, and precepts of civill Institution, he could moderate his desire of having, esteeming the Treasure of

his minde onely worth possessing. *Qui cuncta habet, nec tamen habetur*: as *Salust* observeth.

The like we read of *Stilpho*, a *Roman*, whom (as *Cicero* speaketh) was of all other most libidinous; yet by reading of Morall Precepts, amplified with grave Examples, became most continent.

Morall Histories, or Narrations in such Histories, highly commended; with their effects.

Whence it is, that Morall Histories; or Narrations in such Histories, are and were ever highly commended, by reason of their effects: especially in Youth, whole disposition being aptly compared to a cleare or pure Table, which, as yet had never taken any impression, receives her first infusions with most retention. For the first Seeds take the deepest roote; the first Liquors strongest taste; the first Colours truest dye. These, by certaine innate sprinklings of goodnesse, conferre the Lives and Actions of such, as they read of, in an equall Diameter. Here they observe, how *prudently* such persons managed their affaires; how discretely they moderated their affections; and with what facility and felicity they attained their proposed ends. By which they collect, that deliberation promiseth successe to every action. Amongst these, they finde a *Fabius* more prosperous by delaying; than heady *Cethegus* is by attempting.

This teacheth them wisely and cautiouly to prevent danger before it approach, lest a too late *had I wist* beget in them a Repentance without helpe; a desperate repulse without hope.

It is written that the Emperour *Titus* (that *dainty*

dainty Darling of Mankind) used to have borne before him a *Dolphine* wreathed about an Anchor, with this Impresse: *Festina lentè*. Which elegant Embleme they make excellent use of: They conceive by this, how nothing can be done happily, that is done hastily: and that nothing of high importance can possibly be atchieved, being to any strict limit or compasse of time confined.

Eucher.

The consideration of these Motives holds them from rashnesse; an error to which unbounded Youth is commonly most subject: by which meanes they avoid those many dangers, whereto the follies of Youth stand too frequently engaged.

Nor doe they onely finde Instances worthy their Imitation in *Subiects* of prevention and cautious providence: (a Lesson of necessary consequence for Yong-men;) but in actions of *Justice*, where that which is right and just, should be fairely and freely rendred to every man. Of this, they finde sundry singular Examples in Ethnicke Authors. *Phocion*, that Honour of *Greece*, will not speake for *Charilus*, though he be his Sonne in Law, but in just Causes onely. Nor that Worlds Commander, the invincible *Alexander*, incline to his Mother, if her Request tend to the shedding of innocent blood, or imbruing his imperiall hands in Murder. Nor that unhappy *Mithridates* suffer (in his respect of Justice) the corruption of *Acilius* to passe unpunished: lest his Impunity might become a Priviledge to others, to challenge the like benefit. In these they

observe of what esteeme the profession of Justice was in all Ages : and how a native Instinct wrought such incredible effects on Barbarous people ; as their very Actions merited both imitation and admiration in their Successours. Neither could the Philosophers of those times, wherein they flourished, be more exact in defining what Justice was, than these were in performing what Justice requir'd.

For our Life, as it is a Globe of Examples ; so by collecting whatsoever wee see imitable in others ; if we tender our owne well-being, or her breast from whence we had our nursing and first being ; wee will take especiall care to expresse to life, whatsoever wee have at any time read commendable in others.

In Arguments likewise of *Temperance*, they cull out many dainty Historicall Flowers, apt to sweeten the Seed-plot of their Youth with a select variety of Examples. Yea, even in those Encounters, wherein the Conquest appears to be of most difficulty ; to wit, restraint of our desires in sensuall Objects : wherein the Victory is so much more glorious, as the opportunity and motive of their fancy attractive or precious.

They read how *Scipio*, being a young man of Twenty foure yeeres of Age, in the surprizall of a City in *Spain*, repressed his flames of lust, and confined his desires to the Rule of Reason, when a beautifull Maid was brought him ; restoring her untoucht with a great Reward to young *Albantium*, to whom she was espoused.

The like in *Alexanders* Continency to *Darius* Wife and Daughters; whose Princely moderation and command over his affections, made his Memory no lesse glorious than his Victories.

The like in *Zenocrates*, a right Philosopher, because of himselfe an absolute Commander; who remaines immoveable in his resolution to Continence, amidst all those voluptuous inducements, sensuall provccations and enticements, lascivious dalliance and embracings of a light-licentious *Lais*. From the perusall of these they conclude, “*There is nothing comparably precious*”
 “*to a continent Soule.*”

Lastly, to (exemplifie in each of our Cardinal Vertues, what rare effects may be derived to Youth in these Historicall Readings) they observe the Constancy and Resolution of forraine Commanders; they admire their *Fortitude*, and bravenesse of spirit. Neither can *Pyrrhus* Gold corrupt, nor his hideous Elephant amare a Noble *Fabius*.

Though an Imperious *Philip* threaten an *Athenian* Legat, that hee will cause his Head to be cut off; he has an Answer in store to vye with the mounting Sovereignty of his State: “*If thou*”
 “*take this Head from me, my Countrey will give*”
 “*me another that shall be immortall.*”

And they finde how gratefull some Princes were in the memory of their Subjects Loyalty; holding their fidelity and trust to be the incomparablest Treasure that any Prince could enjoy upon Earth. This they conceive by the estimate

which *Darius* made of his *Zophyrus*, *Cyrus* of his *Cambyfes*; *Alexander* of his *Parmenio*, *Athens* of her *Draco*; *Epaminondas* of his *Pelopidas*, *Sparta* of her *Brasidas*.

In these, they exactly prize the value of true worth. Nor is it to be expressed with what eagerness they pursue those actions, which have purchased such deserving fame to their persons.

It is reported, that *Aristides* (that memorable Mirror of Justice) dying of the bite of a Weazle, exceedingly lamented that it was not a Lyon. Noble spirits embrace nothing with more easie acceptance then an Honorable fate. To die for ones Country; or to be engaged to the very worst of extreames for the purchase of her liberty, deserved no solemnization in teares: This when youth seriously surveies, he no lesse affectionately admires; and desires no thing more then to go on successively in a glorious emulation of their actions.

The infirmities of this time are great, and need the hand of an expert Physitian; no Medicine, nor Antidote, more soveraigne to cure these contagious Ulcers, then Morall Physicke, if the Disease be greene, (I meane the diseases of the Mind:) We have here Lenitives to mittigate, if it be old, and growne to *anaxētia*, a very Gangrene, grieves insensible, being most incurable. We have Corrasives to eat away all those corrupt Tetteres that hinder the Cure. This is a singular Art, and farre surpassing *Galens*, *Æsculapius*, or *Hypocrates*: Their cures were but external,

nall, these internall: and so much more worthy is the cure of the Minde then the Body, by how much the one is more precious then the other. O Divine Art! O secret Mystery! The *Greeks* called this Discourse, *The life of Man*: for without it, he would degenerate from Man, and loose the best ornaments of Humane nature: *The light of Reason, The Eye of Election.* Ο τρισμυς! great indeed, in comparison of the small esteeme this World makes of it: labouring of a great burthen of impiety, an huge freight of sin, an insupportable carriage; and feeling her owne strength unfit for such a weight, yet refuseth to entertaine a companion that would willingly and readily lighten her burden.

Distempered Age, that labours of Minds phrensie, captivated to unworthy bondage: how long will thy intellectuall eye be shut? How long hood-winckt? If thou fall with open eyes, thy Misery is greater, seeing thy fall, yet would not prevent it, falling with blinded eyes: no marvell, that sees thine owne infirmity, and scornes the direction of others eies to conduct thee. Alas! here be many intricate Mazes, unfrequented Labyrinths, places of imminent perill, and thou art blind: no suspect of any Stratagem or Ambush doth possesse thee; thou promisest thy selfe most security, when most beleagured with perill.

It was no marvell if miserable *Oedipus* run into Brakes and Briers, when his erring feete were guided by two blind eyes? Here be many seducements: and as in the Pagan time, there were
more

more Temples erected in honour to *Bacchus* and *Venus*, than to *Jupiter* and *Apollo*: So for one Example of Piety and Religion, we have ten of Vice and Licentiousness. Here the bait of Ambition, hung out and swallowed, and like enough by a Gudgeon; there the painted Flagge of vain-glory, leading a Troupe of Vices in a Ring-dance: Here a Silken Foole well-esteemed --- for *Nasci à Principibus fortuitum est* --- Hee was borne rich: There a ragged Sage descanting on Morall Precepts, but neither garded nor regarded. Here *Rosa Mundi*, the Rose of Worlds vanity, set on a splay-foote, making Art a cover for Natures deformity: There a plume of Feathers dangling on a Head more light than Feathers, to make *Plato's* naked Definition of Man true: *Homoe est Animal bipes, implume*: proving himselfe by his *plume* to be none. No matter for Reason: They would be loath to be indued with more than is needfull for a phantasticke head: An ordinary portion of Reason will serve an Ordinary. Oh that these poiselesse Braines would but imploy their time in Morall Discourses, what excellent matter might they finde out worthy the judicious approbation of refined Wits!

It is observed that in *Athens*, and in *Rome* also, young Gentlemen were to be imployed in preferring some Law in behalfe of the people: or Patronizing such as were poore, and destitute of succour in themselves: Patronizing such, and protecting them in publick defence of their cause, or the like.

--- *Summa
plebis deducta
est gloria plu-
mis.*

A Caution for
your Silken
Gallant.

--- *Misericordiam
sanguine Regum
Nobile* ---

Plato's Defi-
nition.

This was the first step of preferment unto *Cicero*, defending *Roscius* against *Scylla*: and that with such vehemency, as generally hee was approved for his seriousnessse in a poore Actors cause. And sure, generous mindes cannot be better expressed than in actions of this nature, whereby they may not onely secure themselves and their entirest affections from the frivolous assaults of irregular perturbations; but also purchase unto them the generall love and favour of such as observe their disposition, and admire it.

By Morall reading we use to be most excited to these compassionate effects: exampled in them whom wee deservedly thinke of, and earnestly covet to imitate: Not taxing them unworthily, nor commenting otherwise of their Vertues, than as we receive by Transcription from others. Former Ages (in this kind) have beene more charitable, but the apprehension of our owne defects makes us suspectfull of others. As in *Rome*, if the *Pisoes* be frugall, they are censured Parcimonious; if the *Metelli* Religious, they are taxed Superstitious; if the *Appij* Popular, they are tearmed Ambitious; if the *Manlij* Austere, they are styled Tyrannous; if the *Lelij* Wise, they are Curious; the *Publicola* Aspiring, if Courteous. Many such *Mamothrepts* we have, that censure others actions to the worst, making their owne depraved Judgments Censors of others Vertues. But Morall Precepts would remedy this Obliquity, and will us first be Masters of our Affections, ere wee fish in the

The fruit of
Morall rea-
ding.

troubled waters of other mens errors: But this Age confirms the Assertion of a wise Roman Senatour: *Swam cuiusq; culpam Authores ad causam transferunt*: Or, which Seneca writes in his Epistle to his friend Lucil. *Many (saith hee) my friend Lucilius commit faults in Rome, but will in no case heare that they committed them: the Adile layes blame upon the Questor, the Questor on the Prator, the Prator on the Consul, the Consul on the Censor, the Censor on the Dictator.*

Apologizing and defending Errors, the greatest cherisher of them: For how is it possible wee should amend them, that will not confesse wee did commit them? But Acknowledgment is a precedent Directresse to Reformation, according to the Traged: words:

Quem pœnitet peccasse, penè est innocens.

It is an intallible Theorem; *'Humility is the way to Glory.* Which can be expressed in nothing better, than in a free and genuine submission of our owne Judgments to others. Too much confidence begets strength of Error: and he is the wisest, who in his owne conceit appears humblest. Great Apprebatien is then to be given to such, who tender an acknowledgment of their errors; whether it be in their Dialect and forme of speaking, or manner of living: with an ingenuous submitting of their Labours to the free censure of others: which argues a great measure of Sobriety and Discretion in any: Whereas Selfe-conceit is a blemish to the exactest Labours: Neither shall such Authors free themselves from malicious Censures.

Rhem.

Acknowledgment of our Errors, whether it be in our Dialect & forme of speaking, or manner of living: with an ingenuous submitting of our Labours to the free Censure of others, argues a great measure of sobriety & discretion in us. Selfe-conceit a blemish to the exactest

Seneca.

Rhemnius Palamon that arrogant Grammatician, or rather Grammatist, vaine-gloriously boasted, that good Literature had first life by him, and should after dye with him (as having the first beginning, and should have a small end with him:) or like *Gorgias* the Orator, who ever prest himselfe forward to the first Encounter.

But what does this vaine-glory beget them, but contempt and derision in such as observe them? The Age is subject enough to Errour, and apt enough to Apologize Vice, to give more liberty to the Offender. The way to breake this Chaine, is to lay aside our selves, and impartially to judge our selves and actions, as if they were not Ours, but Others.

For this Selfe-love makes us admire, what in others wee abhorre. A retyred privacy, many times, promiseth to the unwary delinquent, more freedome in offending: but vaine and fruitlesse are these promises. Is there any darknesse so thicke and palpable, that the piercing Eye of Heaven, which takes a full and perfect view of the whole Earth at once, measures the very least drop of the Ocean, and numbers the least portion of Sand upon the shore, cannot looke thorow it? Oh, if thou hope by sinning secretly to sinne securely, this thy ungrounded security shall bring thee to misery. It was a pretty saying of *Epicurius* in *Seneca*; "How can Sinne be safe when it cannot be secure? Or to what purpose is it to labour to lye hid, when that we doe cannot be hid?" And therefore *Prudentius* in one of his Hymns,

Labours: Neither shall such Authors free themselves from malicious Censures.

gives this good *Memorandum* :

“*What e're it be thou do'st by Day or Night,*

“*Thinke with thy selfe sh art alwayes in Gods fight.*

It was *Seneca's* Council to his friend *Lucilius* ; that whensoever he went about to doe any thing,

“he should imagine *Cato* or *Scipio*, or some other

“worthy *Roman* to be in presence. And it was

“the saying of *St. Bernard*, *That we are ever to see*

“*some good man before us, that we may live as if he*

“*looked over us.*

The way then to cure sinne, is not to shroud it, nor with faire pretences to guild it, or by impugning the Cause to others, to mince it; but by a free and ingenuous discovery of it, to acknowledge the ground to proceed from our selves: Which acknowledgment will bring us to rectifie what is amisse: and bring that which we have so rectified, by a proficiency in goodnesse, to more perfection.

For what is it, with *Alcibiades*, that beauty of *Athens*, to be skilfull in all Arts and Exercises; to winne the Palme in what enterprize wee take in hand; to be popularly affected; with Trophies and Triumphs honoured; and to have the Wheele of Fortune so fixt, and the Wings of Victory so clipt, as the former may never have power to discard us, nor the latter to flye from us: When our *Inward beauty*, farre surpassing all these light Embellishments of Art, becomes blemished by that staine, which holds so deepe a dye, as Time cannot raze it, nor ought but Infamy attend it?

The

Bern. de vita
Solitaria.

The way then to cure Error, is to submit our Judgments to others censure: and in a wise and cautelous distrust of our selves, to admit the advice and assistance of others in any matter of ambiguity; lest wee deceive our selves by being too confident of our owne strength.

That saying is true: "*Hee that seekes to be more wise than hee can be, shall be found lesse wisethan he should be.*"

The best Doctrine then to initiate us how to be wise, is not to be selfe-wise; but with an humble acknowledgment of our owne deficiencies, to ascribe all praise unto Him who is solely wise.

In Morall Studies, much excellent matter may be chosen out of that Mirror of Morals, *Plutarch*; not onely to instruct Youth, in the Rudiments and Precepts of Vertue: As how to beare himselfe in all occasions; how to conceale and smother his passions, with a wise over-mastring of his Affections; and how to redresse the multiplicity of injuries by taking opportunity by the Fore-top. But even old men likewise, such as have seene many changes and alterations in their Times; and were well nigh perswaded, that all the Volumes of the World could not shew them more, than they in the revolution of their Times had seene: But seeing Instructions rare to them, and unaccustomed Precepts fit for the maturest Head to plod on, they then confesse that their old Age hath beene a Dotage, verifying,

Addiscendo, se semper senescere: Reaping more profit by one Morall precept, then a whole yeares Experience in Worldly affaires.

Many old men we have (that can discourse of the change of Princes) whose Gray-haires be as so many records of what they have seene. But alas, conferre with them of true Morall experience, and you shall finde them as young in hours, as old in yeares: Their knowledg in the Infancy, though their one foot in the grave, ready to bid adiew to the world, when they are scarce halfe erudiated in the preventive sleights of this world. A simple age! when we have no other Testimony that we have lived long, save onely our Gray-haires, and yet the general ignorance pleads pardon: none so generous as those which know the least, none of a ranked spirit, that will cast the eye of a judicious applause, upon the meriting Labours of any man.

Wherein, should I fall upon reproofe of the Age, in her dis-esteeming Authors: and sleighting their Labours; mine Oyle might seeme to taste of too much Criticisme: for the Professors of Learning, they must not expect all Times nor all Eminent persons to have Scales in readinesse to weigh their Merits.

For the *Rich*, whose thriving wayes will afford him scarce time to converse either with Wit or Learning, lest his providence in the meane time should be a wanting to himselfe, which he preferres before all the World; so hee finde graines enough to weigh his long-unseene Gold; he little cares

These Times
old in yeeres,
but young in
hours.

A reproofe of
the Age, in her
disesteeming
Authors: and
sleighting
their Labours.

cares how lightly Learning weigh in the estimate of men. For, good man, he makes no other use of Bookes, than Nurses doe of Cradles, to rocke Babes in till they fall asleepe.

And for our *Amorous Gallant*, whose *Cinnamon* Rinde is worth all the body beside; hee is so continually practising in the Schoole of Complement; First, for accommodating himselfe in an handsome dresse, then how to weare it when he has crept into it; how to ruffle his boote, and make a gingling with his Heele, as if all his patrimony were behind him; how to powder his lockes, and sweeten those constant Creatures which familiarly attend him; how to besprinkle his effeminate face with Lady-like *Love-spots*, which cannot chuse but be as so many Lures to draw the eyes of his lightest *Livia* to looke on him. These, I say, being his daily exercise, will not admit him so much time as to talke with an Author: Till his long training in the Schoole of vanity hath taught him so much, as he needes no other Tutor then his owne mis-spent time to admonish him of his irregular course.

Nay, he leaves for most part, so small a portion of fortune to himselfe, as the surplusage would scarce purchase his Author so much oyle as might supply his Lampe, in the composure of the most illaborate or compendious Labour.

But if at any time, his hand chance to dive into his pocket, to expresse his bounty to the Muses; it may be properly sayd of him, what was sometimes spoken by an other in the same sense:

“*Optimas!*”

Optimas gazas infimis servavit chartis: Making onely choice of such for Objects of his bounty, whose light unstudied Lines detract from the Muses beauty.

Nor are they to expect, that our *High-moun-ting Cedars*; whose Object is Honour; which rather than they will not purchase, they lose themselves for ever: can deigne to reflect on such *Low shrubs*. For of all others, Subjects of Learning receive hardest digestion from Ambition. Lectures of Morality or Mortality can worke weake Impressions upon a restlesse aspiring fancy.

Composed mindes, settled thoughts, retyred Mansions are Receptacles for the Muses.

*Safe lay I hid, and free from Envies spite,
While Corsick Rocks were my retired site.*

So spake *Seneca* for a *Seneca*. Yea, I have knowne some of these, never truely happy, till they became unhappy: receiving their most liberty from restraint; and the best knowledge of themselves from a Grate. Then, and never till then, did these begin to read Man; nor to conceive the fraile condition of Man; nor to converse with those *Dead Councillors*, which know best how to prepare and accomplish Man. Then, and never till then, came Learning to be of Request, or in their Bookes. So lightly is Learning favoured, so meanely countenanced by such as Idolatrize the World, or are affected to pleasure; or have ineager pursuite the shade of Honour.

*Melius latebam
procul ab Inru-
dia malis remo-
tus inter Cor-
sici rupes Ma-
rii &c. Sen. in
Oct.*

*Sectus in Num-
do, Sacro rene-
or Silentio.*

Honour. But Learning is not hereby to be discouraged, because slighted or desertlesly disvalued: This hath long before these present Times, bin her fate, and in all ages a common fault.

Wee read in our owne Chronicles, how one yeare all the Laurell Trees within our Iland withered, and afterwards contrary to all expectation, revived and flourished againe: Let Learning apply this to Herselfe; though her blossomes seeme dead, shee retaines still life in the Root: Which, by propagation of her flowers and fruites, shall revive to her Honour; while ignorance buried in her owne ashes, and incapable of light or life, shall never recover.

It is Recorded, that *Licinius*, Coleague in the Empire with *Constantine* the Great (being uncapable of learning himselfe) by reason of the slownesse or barrenesse of his understanding, was wont to call Learning the very poyson and publicke plague, that infected the Realme: The *Romane* Historians, have applyed this vanity of his, rather to his want of judgement, then any thing else, being not able to comprehend the benefit of Arts.

The like of *Maximilian*, who was desirous to attaine some extraordinary height in Eloquence; which when he could not (by reason of his naturall dulnesse) attaine unto, hee envied and maligned others. Many have wee that second these, glorying in their owne ignorance,

The cause why Learning is contemned.

*Qui tegumen-
to Hercules,
ferus natura,
ardens libidi-
nis, consilij s.
solsus in vit.
Aurel. Maximi.*

and making a ridiculous spectacle of Learning: as a superficial ornament to accommodate more the threed-bare Sophister, than the Generous Gallant.

I recall to minde the ancient presage upon all Arts, and the prediction concures well with this time. *Three halfe pence for a Philosopher, and smooke for a Counsellour.* It was spoken in the declining Age of the *Roman* Empire, when Vice rode in his foot-cloath, and Vertue (like a poore *Irish* Lacky) ran at his Stirrep. But Morall Learning illumines the intellectuall power with a better and clearer fore-sight; shewing the difference betweene goodnesse and appearance: for true Morals love not to garnish their portraitures with shadows.

The best meanes to distinguish betwixt the ignorant and morally instructed; is to put them into their habilliments of Nature; send them both forth naked into the world, and their distinct Characters will appeare more manifest. Alas, the Moralist cannot discourse of what the World most affecteth; he sees the ambitious man roving at unsetled ends, meaning to ingrosse the whole World to himselfe; he smiles at his illimited desires, and wonders whereto his fond purposes tend: hee considers the event, ere hee take in hand the meanes; and hates desire of popular praise, or ostentation, lest he should grow proud by forraigne observances: hee entertaines death with a cheerefull brow. Terror of death is not terrible to one prepared for her ere shee

come,

*Mitte ambos
nudos ad igno-
ros, & vitibus.*

To whom
death is not
terrible.

come; alwayes taking her, as one of the necessities of Nature, and inevitable, meditating of her, as one--- *Qui finem vite extremum inter munera ponit natura.* These considerations ever fortifie a good Morall against the violence of all assaults inward and outward; apprehending his substance, and composition, to be such as cannot barracadoe it selfe against the encounter of Nature.

Agathooles, that Tyrant of *Syracusa*, in all his tyranny, had a good Morall Statue to represent to him the Idiome of his Mortality; having the upper part of his Image made of Marble, Gold, and Ivory, but the feet of Earth; to intimate of how weake and infirme ground, he and his goodly promising person stood. O! if we should but read the choyce variety of divinely-composed Sentences, comprised in those elaborate Works of the ancient Morall Historians: they would move us to no lesse apprehension of our owne weaknesse, than if some expert or curious Painter, (*Apelles*-like) should portray to us every part and lineament of this little man we carry about us. Morality (saith a good Morall) is Mans Anatomy; it shewes every part of his body, how composed, how disposed; and prescribes how this excellent composure may be best preserved: It deales not by predominancy of Planets, (as our ponderous burthens of Nature calculate) but by an even Symmetry of Vertues governing the inferiour Sphaeres, the bodies lineaments. Nor deales

An excellent observation by a Tyrant.

This Embleme is portraid to life, pag. 61.

Morality, Mans Anatomy.

it is like your *Phantastick Musitian*, that bestows more charges on the Cover of his Instrument, than the Instrument it selfe ; but by the Covers debasement, augments the Excellency of the Instrument ; the divine faculties of the soule,

But I may seeme to run too farre in this Subject, confounding Morall History with Philosophy : which though I might defend ; for Morall Philosophy is nothing else than a Globe of Morall Precepts drawne from Historicall grounds ; yet to make mine owne passage more smooth, I will descend to the next branch of History, intituled *Physicall*.

Histories *Physicall*, be especially conversant in the search of the Natures of things : approving that Opinion of the Philosopher : *Ea Physica sunt, qua Naturas rerum explorare solent* : whether things animate or inanimate ; in living Creatures, as in the search of Beasts, Birds, Serpents, and the like ; and of vegetive Bodies, as Plants : In creatures inanimate, as in the scrutiny of Mettals, the distinct natures of Stones, &c. With which Discourses the greatest Emperours have beene delighted. Those admirable Works of *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, and *Ælian*, with many others, are sufficient to erudiate the most incapable in these Relations : where they doe *Abditæ rerum rimari*. Here describing the very intimate natures of Beasts, the rare and incredible vertues of

The severall kinds of Physicall observations.

of Plants, and Hearbs, the virulent natures of Serpents, and the attractive powers of Stones, Mettals, and the like. The *Crocodile*, a most dangerous Beast, (frequenting the River *Nylus*) and a profest foe to Man: The *Ichneumon*, a little creature, yet powerfull in her selfe, and in her power a profest foe to the *Crocodile*.

To take a more full Survey of the Natures of these, whosoever shall be pleased to peruse the History of the *West-Indies*; may find store of Relations of all sorts in this kind. As Wormes of strange qualities; Serpents of wonderfull proportions and features; venomous Vipers; of which whosoever are bitten, dye in short space: for few live to the fourth day, except present Remedy be applyed; which according to the strength and constitution of the party wounded, receives effect sooner or later: but not without danger of death to the Patient, though the Sovereignst Receipts that the secrecy of Art may finde out, be used.

Of other sorts likewise, there may be found some of that humane and sociable Nature, as they affect nothing more than the Feature of Man: eying him with such a loving and friendly admiration, as nothing seemingly delights them more than to behold him.

Others, as if they retained the memory of that ancient Serpentine malice betwixt them, and the Seed of the Woman, no sooner come in the presence of that Sexe, than they redouble their fury; and in their wounding so

These two Beasts, in Nature and Feature different, by one peculiar Nation, (*Ægypt*) equally revered.

He continues the Description of the Natures of divers Serpents; extracted from the Historiall Description of *Affrick*.

The Region of *Congo*, by the Testimony of *Signor Odoardo*, as it is in *Vipers* numerous, so are they so venomous, that such as are bitten by them doe dye within the space of 24. Hours: But the *Negroes* are acquainted with certain hearbs that will heale their wounds.

De Natura
Cherhydri,
v d. Nar. Im-
perij de Con-
go.

venemous and incurable, that One of them chancing to bite an *Indian* Maide, which served the Relator, during his aboad in those parts; after such time as he had caused the Surgians to Minister their ordinary cure, being not by all the Art and experiments they could use, able to do her any good, nor yet get one drop of blood out of her, but onely a yellow water, dyed the third day for lacke of remedy, as the like had chanced to diverse others. During the time of her languishing, shee reported how the Viper which bit her on the foot, was two spannes long or little lesse: and that she lept in the aire for the space of more then sixe paces (note the virulency of her nature) that she might with more violence assaile her.

The various
venemous
qualities of
Spiders cured
by Musicke.

The relation is strange of the *Tarandula*, a kind of Spider bred in *Pulia*; which being of a diverse nature, causeth diverse effects: causing some to dance, some to sing, or weep, or watch, or sweat: The cure of it is by Musicke: while the patient by dancing or some vehement exercise of that sort repels the poyson.

Excellent Mo-
ralls.

Which effects may imply excellent Morals: we are all subject not onely to be surprized but em-poysoned by this *Tarandula*, this *Tetter* of our flesh; unlesse by sweet Melody of the Divine spirit she be charmed: yea, wee are sure to be dis-comfitted by Sloath, if we retyre our selves from action, or give way to her effeminacy, whose only ayme it is to bring us to inevitable Milery. Exer-cise then must be used, lest our baine be procured.

The

The like Morall, without much enforcing, may be drawne from other creatures; and that with much propriety, in the Survey of Natures History.

The *Crab-fish*, when as the *Oyster* doth open her selfe, casteth a stone into her shell; so as, being not able to shut herselfe againe, she becomes a prey unto the *Crabbe*. The Fathers apply this unto the Divell; when he findeth men gaping and idle, he casteth into them some stone of Temptation, whereby he workes their over-throw. For the Sloathful man is the Divels shop; there he works, ever busie when men are lazie.

Many such singular Motives may the piercing Eye of the Soule extract from the natures of these inferiour creatures: So as, though the very *Locust*, or *Grasshopper* be but creatures of emptinesse, they retaine in them many wonderful occult qualities. Nay, the very *Hedge-hog*, being a creature (to use the words of a Divine Father) not excluded from Gods providence, presents herselfe a singular Embleme of pollicy and prevention, in her privacy and retirednesse. For this provident Creature hath two holes in his siege, one towards the South, an other towards the North. Now when the Southerne wind blowes, he stops up that hole, and turnes him Northward. Againe, when the Northerne wind blowes, he stoppes up that hole likewise, and turnes him againe Southward. Such *Vrchins*, strict Criticisme may terme *Temporizers*; who are onely for complying with Time, seldome or never closing with Truth; but
equally

The meanest
Creatures re-
taine in them
many secret
qualities.

equally affected Naturalists have rather ascribed this to a provident Oeconomical policy, than glozing flattery.

To set downe the severall properties of all, or of most sorts of Beasts, would crave an ample Volume of it selfe: I will onely (as in my former discourse) expresse the use of Naturall Histories, and to what persons most accomodate.

What Princes
best affected
these Studies.

We read of divers most famous Princes and Monarchs to have applyed their mindes to the search of these Studies : *Alexander* (otherwise most potent in Armes , and sole Commander of the World) addicted his minde to the scrutiny of these Rarities : as may appeare most manifestly by his Letter (at this day extant) to his Master *Aristotle*, containing the strange proportions of Beasts with their Natures ; which during his *Indian* Warre, hee had observed : describing the strange and unheard-of qualities of the *Indian Aspicks, Cerasts*, and many other kinds of Serpents, continually infesting his Army ; professing (as he himselve writeth) hee found more difficulty in discomfiting Beasts, than subduing Men : for the one sort assaulted him, when his Troopes were well disposed, cheerefull, and full of alacrity : but the other invaded him by Night. *Ita ut ne in Castris quidem minimum ocij detur.* Alwayes was this puissant Prince much given to see the naturall qualities of Beasts, so as no Present could be more gratefull, or acceptable to him, than some strangely-natured savage, making excellent use of this Theory, appropriated to the

the natures of Men: which upon all occasions, (with singular delight) he used to apply unto his Nobles disposition, which attended him.

Those noble and couragious Dogs, which were sent him by the Kings of *Albany*, much contented him: They would not stirre at sinall beasts, disdainning them (as it were) in the over-flow of their courage, contemning any encounter but with Lyons, and Elephants. This Magnanimity could the valiant Emperour apply well enough to himselfe: he saw his own nature delineated, or charactred (as it were) in their courage, Scorning to Triumph on the conquered, solacing him ever with this extreame, yet chearefull comfort: *Superest sperare salutem.*

The like desire of exploring the naturall properties of Beasts, possessed *Sertorius*: One no lesse provident, to shelter himselfe in adversity, then in all his actions continent, amidst his prosperity; who, after his Regiment in *Spaine*, erected many places for the taming of wild Beasts, delighting exceedingly to see the aptnesse of some joynd with a certaine naturall flexibility, and the backwardnesse of others, retaining over a certaine semblance of their first Nature, so deeply imprinted, as difficulty removed. Nay, what Stratagem used he (by his *White Hart*) to support and governe the whole Fabricke of his declining Estate: Implying that by his Hinde, or Hart, he received instructions from *Diana*, which the people (with such superstition) beleaved, that by his glory he conquered Envy, enlarging the

Couragious
Dogges.

Natures of
Beasts.

Alba Cervus.
Plutarch.

bounds of his Jurisdiction, and making his exile the Synbole of his renowne, till by the bloody conspiracy of *Perpenna* and *Antonius*, he was deprived both of Crowne and Life.

Demetrius a worthy Souldier, and one well meriting of his Countrey, was much inclined to this Study: So as at home, if at any time sequestred from his more serious Affaires, he conceived exceeding pleasure and delight in the portraying of those Beasts he had seene: Excellent hee was in the frame of any Similitude, but more divine in his owne; being of that exact forme, elegant constitution, and sweetly-mixt Complexion, *Vt à pictoribus. sculptoribusq; ei similis non potuerit effingi*: A rare Modell of Nature, when (by Nature) he was imparraled.

Alcibyades, no lesse deserving, yet worse censured, was well experimented in the Natures of Beasts, but more in Plants: having an Hearbe, even to this day (amongst our Apothecaries) called after his Name, *Alcybiadon*, or the Wilde Buglossie.

And for Mettals, Minerals, or the like; None more accommodated to such Studies than that Sovereaigne of *Roman* Hearts, *Augustus*, hearing his *Lapidary Dioscorides* with especiall delight: So as in time he was not onely able to distinguish of any Stone, but to describe their Natures: Using likewise the Art of Alchimy, more expert in their recalcinations (saith the *Roman* Historian) than the best Professours of that Time; and consequently I may conclude than the
grosse

Natures of
Plants.

Natures of
Mincs.
Plutarch &
Suct.

grosse Quacke-salvers of our Time.

You see it is no disparagement for the Generous, or Heroick Spirit to be Studied in these Notions: since the peerlesse for Valour and true Resolution, have dedicated themselves unto them: yet would I not have them so besotted, or be wedded to these studies, as to forget more important intendments. I confesse these are rather to make a man compleat, than exactly necessary, and a superficiall knowledge is sufficient for Learning of this Nature; And well doe I approve of that Ornament of Learning (the best Lustre to the Schoole of Arts) where hee would rather have a Gentleman superficially seene in all, than profoundly learned in one. Too much retyring to these Studies, accord not with Gravity or State, but to discourse (by way of Reason) without Sophisticall argumenting, well besemes the most Generous mindes.

It is an happy thing to keepe a meane in Wisdom; not to strive (in an overflow of Understanding) to out-strip Nature in the investigation or search of Naturall things: A little will serve us in indifferent things, and more it reliseth of Discretion, to know when wee have enough; than, with an unbounded will of affecting knowledge, superstitiously to know more than Nature hath prescribed.

This excesse in desire of knowing, hath beene a contagion, that hath infected and poisoned the maturest Studies: especially in things so impertinent, as when the pitch of that they expected

Expedient, not necessary.

St. F. B.

was attained, Their knowledge conduced no more to the profit of the Repub. than if with *Endymion*, they had slept their time, and passed their life over in a fruitlesse silence. It pleaseth the Orator to rearme such a Study-- *Inutilis mentis agitatio* : Sayling in the troubled streame, where a more cleare and calme passage doth shew her selfe. Thus I approve in these Naturall Discourses, a superficiall Discursive Knowledge, to exclude Ignorance, but no such affective height; lest in so exquisite a search of Nature, wee should shew our selves Naturals. We say, the Generous should be but *Mediocriter doctus* : I need not insist upon the perswasion; wee have too many of *Juvenals* painted blocks in the way of Learning; that never meane to come nearer. So as I may answer, as an *Athenian* reasoned, what the cause should be why there was such an ebbe of good Wits in *Athens*? "Because (saith he) they runne
 (" into the Sub-urbs, and dwell with *Lais*.

The best and ripest Wits are most subject to corrupting, concordng well with the native depravation of these Times, where *Medea's* Rule is made an Axiome, every one with *Lincius* seeing the best, but with blind *Baiard*, deprived of the Eye of their Election.

Too much of them; our Treatise requires a better Subject, than such staines to their Countries fame, and pristine honour, making her complaine, as *Rome* did in time of old: *Eone vos produxi? &c.* Is this the fruit of my long Labour, the freight of my race, and the reward of my Motherly

--Hinc archy-
 ta nomine trun-
 cus exhibit --

Eone mater-
 na se pro-
 vexit!

therly love, to bring you up, and then (like Vipers) to sting me that hath nourished you? Well then, my blessings must be turned of necessity into execrations: and that Breast which first nourished you with the Milke of comfort, must be the very Sepulchre to interre you that buried my honour.

Thus did *Rome* hollow out her complaint against her ill-nurtured issue; and no lesse cause *Albion* against her undisciplined race, that seeme as if they were, — — *Fruges consumere nati.*

And here I might preferre a just complaint against such, who consume the Oyle of their Life, in frequenting *Loose places*: and apply some choice soveraigne Receipts, to rectifie this, to the end (than which no end more glorious) their owne Families may become private *Academies*. Which I shall the rather labour, in regard, that the regulating of our selves to that forme, may highly conduce both to our own & Gods honor.

How carefull the *Romans* were in their cessation from armes, to educate their youth in action, lest too much remissenesse might beget in them an effeminacy of manners; and so in time disable them for personall employments eyther at home or abroad, may sufficiently appeare by all those ancient Annals recommended from age to age, even to these our times. Whence it came, (as I have else where noted upon like occasion) that there was published an antient Edict amongst the *Romans*, as is recorded by *Cicero* in his Booke of Lawes, that no *Roman*

A just complaint against such, who consume the Oyle of their Life, in frequenting *Loose places*: how to rectify this, that their owne Families may become private *Academies*.

The Empe-
rour *Ottavian*
would not suf-
fer his Daugh-
ters to be
without some
Art, Science,
or Mystery;
saying: Hee
might become
poore, & then
his Daughters
might by their
honest Labour
relieve both
themselves &
their Father.

should go through the street of the City, unlesse he carried with him the badge or cognizance of that Trade whereby he lived: Insomuch as, that good Emperour *Marc. Aurelius* speaking of the dilligence of the *Romans*, writeth, *That all of them followed their labour.* An excellent commendation in a civill State; to banish that, by which the best States through a long continued peace, or affluence of wealth, have not only bin impeached and impaired, but rooted out and utterly razed.

Idlenesse maketh of Men women, of women beasts, of beasts Monsters. I would have then these Patrons of Idlenesse (who consume the precious lampe of their life in a licentious liberty) used, as *Zeno* used his servant *Bruson*; who being taken with Theft, and alledging for himselfe, that it was his destiny to steale; his Maister answered, and thy destiny to be beaten.

It is the depraved nature of Man, to mould himselfe ever after *Medaas* rule; to see the best but to follow the worst; nay, to make the worst use of that which in its owne nature is the best. For what more precious then the *palmes* of Peace? Yet, what is it that sooner corrupts the freest State? For what is the progeny that a Calme time brings forth (all which implies the viciousnesse of our nature) but a *Prodigall* and an *Usurer*? Where the one ingageth his state for Backe and Belly; the other quite contrary, stands indebted both to Back and Belly. The one playes at Ducks and Drakes with pieces, till hee must fish for
more

A tempestu-
ous Progeny
in a calme
time.

more when all his estate is false in peeces; The other hoards up for his seldome thriving Heire; who meanes, as his father was the first, to make himselfe the last of his House.

That Maxim is true; Health commeth not from the Clouds without seeking, nor Wealth from the clods without digging: yet, as there is required a *providence* in the one; so should there be a *conscience* in the other. *Lycurgus* banished this Usury (the canker-worme of all civill Society) out of *Sparta*; *Amasis* punished it severely in *Egypt*; *Cato* banished it out of *Sicilia*: and *Solon* in *Athens*. How much more should it be holden in detestation amongst Christian-? And for the other, who so hee may be stiled a *Young Master*, will not stick to impawne the *Long Acre*, till hee become like a Snake who h'as calten his slough; a squeezed swad without either Meanes, Manners, or Mannor: I could wish that he took his Sponge by the hand, and tooke leave of this Iland together, till ayre had changed their condition, or Grace the quality of their Temper. As sometimes that worlds Monarch used two of his Court Parasites, injoyning the one to flye, and the other to follow him with a whip, till they were both got out of his Kingdome, and so his Court was rid of both.

And to make up a lease in this vicious trace; it were not far amisse for the State, that such, who by petitionary wayes work their owne ends; and, as if they were presenters of petitions by Patreer, make it their most comediuous Trade; to de-

lude

Fanpescunt,
Fumus anima.
Qui te prohibet Januari,
ipse te jubet Januari.

Heere this yee
Patreeres, &
petitionary
Projectors.

lude the poore Supplicants trust; and to maintayne their profuse course; feed their languishing Clyents with unprofitable delays, tasted of the whip aswell as these. So that, as *Alex. Severus* (a great enemy to such Impostors) caused his corrupt Courtier *Turinus* in the open Market to be fastned to a stake and stifled with smoake; while the Cryer thus cryed to the people, "*Let him perish by smoake, who sold smoake.*" I could wish that such as these be (if any such there be) might receive the like censure, according to the height or measure of their distemper. For these, like Brokers of old-stuffe, or Barterers of contemptible ware, make sale of that which is not vendible. Or like those *Asian* Knights, make breach of credit to discharge their credit: who, though they have no other vocation but boldnes and insinuation, yet by these injurious wayes, beare themselves in the World as if they were persons of quality and fashion.

But to proceed in our Discourse: Histories of this Nature, are very needefull for professors of Physicke: for how should they conceive the true Art of composition, if the simples whereof the compounds are made, and their vertues, be not perfectly knowne unto them? *Brasavolus, de examine herbarum*, exemplifies this Discourse more fully; I will referre them to that place, not entertayning that Subject which is but superficially traduced to me; and I have alwayes made that observance (in way of Axiome) to all my Readings, which *Silvius* in his Booke, *De Simplicib.*

Medi-

Fumo perest,
qui fumum
vendidit.

Medicament, injoyneth himselfe: What Art soever a Man knoweth, let him only exercise and use it: For otherwise he shall but descry his owne Ignorance, as I have noted in some: *Quos cum nescire piguit, mentiri non pigebat.* An odious scandall to a generous-minded Scholler, to write that which he is ignorant of himselfe; Lesse ashamed to lye, then to be defective in Knowledge. But especially, some we have of this sort, that lye upon their Knowledge: Some (as in *Traians* fabling Age) write Arts of Horsemanship, that never rode otherwise then *Ageflaus* with his Children on Cocke-horse. Others can exactly prescribe Times for Planting, Sowing, Reaping, and the like; playing the good Husband-man (I pray you *marke him*) that never read *Virgils Bucolicks*: These are usurping wits, presuming on the affable censures of these depraved times. Ignorance can Apologize herselfe: for what Writer now a dayes weares not that Livery?

To our History: These naturall Discourses of the qualities of Beasts, Birds, Serpents, and other Creatures, be likewise especially needefull for Divines: They may amply dilate upon the admirable Workes of their Creator, by the Survey of his Creatures. For even all Birds and Beasts (if exactly considered) shew the infinite power of the Almighty; not onely in Creating, but infusing such diversly-affected natures and dispositions in them. The witty Emblematist also drains his pretty inventions from these resemblances; portraying the Creature, and an-

Emblemes of Birds.

The contemplation of the Creature ministers admiration in us toward our Creator.

nexing his device to the Portray.

Nay, they are very motive perswasions to the acknowledging of our owne weaknesse and infirmity: spurres to thankfulness, as that excellent Embleme, where a *Larke* was pearched, with these Verses:

*Vid. Samlucum
& Alesiat.*

*Cantat Alauda Deo laudes gratissima summo,
Hinc nos ingratos grata latefcit avis.*

Englified thus.

*The early Larke her gratefull minde displayes,
Descanting Morne by Morne her Makers praise:
Whence she doth taxe such as unthankfull be,
That have more cause, yet give lesse thanks than she.*

We have many such witty Emblemes, well befitting the most Christian understanding to contemplate; drawing the inscrutable Wisdome of God from the Excellency of his Creatures: the divers formes whereof generally varying, their different Natures in few things concurring, and their continuance so mainly discording, may minister to the greatest Atheist, no lesse cause of Admiration, than cause of Execration of his irreligious and damnable Opinion.

✶
The very Atheist condemned by Birds oth' Aire: and how their Melody is ever mounting with airy wings to that Supreme Majesty.

Nor can there be any Arguments more forcing, than these, to bring a mis-beleever to the acknowledgment of his Maker. So as, the very Atheist, if he would suffer himselfe to be evinced by Reason, could not chuse but veile, and ingenuously hold himselfe condemned by Birds oth' Aire: Whose melody is ever mounting with airy Wings to that *Supreme Majesty*. Upon which

which consideration, would hee but reflect on himselfe, he should soone finde, how miserable it is for man to be silent in Gods praise, when *Birds* become heavenly Quiristers in sending forth sweet ayres.

I cannot chuse but wonder at *Democritus*, who was of such various, nay, Omnifarious reading, as there was nothing in the whole frame or Workmanship of * *Nature*, wherein he did not shew himselfe a Writer. That Hee, who knew the Natures, differences of all Beasts, Plants, Fishes, Birds; and as some say, could understand the Tunes and Voyces of them, should so miserably erre in that, which hee should principally know. For if these *Visible Creatures* be Laymens Bookes; wherein they may finde matter enough to magnify the Power, Wisdome and Providence of God; much more those, who are Vers'd in Bookes, and are enabled to conferre Contemplation with Reading, merit high reproofe: who seeing what they may worthily admire; and that the Maker of them is Hee, to whom they are onely to adhere; are neither wonne by the One nor Other, to acknowledge the sole Omnipotency of their Creator.

It is said of the *Quaile*, being the very same Bird which was the *Israëlites* Meate in the Wilderness, that as hee flies over the Sea, feeling himselfe to begin to be weary, he lights by the way into the Sea. Then lying at one side, hee layes downe one Wing upon the Water, and holds up the other Wing towards Heaven. Left

How miserable it is, for man to be silent in Gods praise, when Birds become heavenly Quiristers in sending forth sweet Ayres.

* *Nihil in toto Opificio Naturæ, de quo non scripsit.*

hee should presume to take too long a flight at the first, he wets one wing. Lest hee should despaire of taking a new flight afterwards, he keeps the other wing dry.

The Morall is divine, though the Story be naturall and humane. *Oculus ad Cælum, manus ad Clavum.* The Course of our perillous Navigation in this our Sea-fare, toucheth upon two dangerous Shelves; such as threaten more inevitable ruine to the unwary Navigator, than those two *Sicilian* Gulfes, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*. Where *Presumption*, upon the confidence of her owne strength, falls by a precipitate Course into the depth of all misery: and *despaire*, through too much diffidence, lyes miserably groveling, neither seeking nor hoping for Remedy. The flight of the former is either short, or none at all; because *Presumption* makes her thinke it needlesse to fly for that of which shee is already seas'd: and *Despaire*, like heavy chesfes, retardates her flight; suggesting to her that it is needlesse to fly for that whereof shee can never possibly be seas'd.

Oris Apollo writeth, that the *Agyptians* (amongst many other profound Hieroglyphicks) when they would describe the *Heart*, paint that Bird, which they call *Ibis*: because they thinke no Creature, for proportion of the body, hath so great an Heart as the *Ibis* hath. If the Pagans made such singular use in their dissection of Birds; as they ever reduced whatsoever they read, or had scene in
that

that kinde, to some excellent end : Much more wee, who know better the use of these Creatures, and to what proper end they were first ordained ; not in Wantonnesse to abuse them, as those loose Imperialists did, who affected nothing more then Rarity ; nor desired ought more, then to surfeit in their Excesse and superfluity. Neyther in a Superstitious use of them ; as the Pagans did, who attributed their good or bad fortune to such Birds, as were eyther Auspicious or Ominous : promising themselves successe according to their flight ; or inspection of their Intrals after death.

Creatures ordained to Sobriety and usefull Morality.

In the time of *Augustus*, an Eagle hovering over the Heads of such *Patricians*, as were then in Consultation ; at last setled upon the name of *Agrippa*, and just upon the first Letter of that name *A* — A Lightning likewise descending downe from Heaven, stroke the first Letter of his owne name out, — *C* — Whence South-sayers, by conjecturall Arguments, or Revelations from their Oracles, gathered, that Hee should but live an hundred dayes after, and be afterwards Cannonized for a God : because *Esar*, the residue of that Name in the *Tuscane* Language signified God.

Albeit, some even amongst themselves, sleighted their Auguries, as might be instanced in *Claudius Pulcher* ; who, when in taking his *Auspicia*, or the prediction of his successe by the inspections of Birds, before *Sicilie*, the

Pullets would not feed, hee commanded they should be plunged in the Sea, that they might drinke, seeing they would not eat. The like did *Crassus*, who being willed by the *Arabian* Guides, at such time as he was Marching within the *Persian* Frontiers, to make haste before the Moone was in *Scorpio*; "but I (said he) feare more *Sagittary*, meaning the Archers of *Persia*."

But there is nothing in my Opinion, that should worke more powerfull effects, or beget in men more virile shame, than to see them outstript by Creatures of this kind, even in arguments of Naturall Affection and Humanity.

Basil. Homil. 8.
 & 9.

It is a notable Observation, which a Divine Father sometimes culled from a Naturall Historian: When the old Storke through Age becomes naked of Feathers, shee is fed by her Brood, and carryed by them from place to place upon their Wings.

This might worthily strike a glowing shame in the breasts of all such unnaturall Children, who neglect their duties to their aged Parents; bringing their grey-haires with sorrow to their Graves. For how should these in an equall proportion requite them from whom they had their being and breeding; admit they should for their reliefe, conferre all their Fortunes and livelyhood upon them?

Quamvis plurima illis reddimus, rursus tamen eos generare non possumus. Cyril.

What should I say likewise of unnaturall Mothers; who scorne to impart their owne Breasts to their owne Babes? Can these see the *Curuca* with her attendants following, and nursing care hatch-

hatching the *Cuckowes* egges, and not blush at themselves? Have they naked breasts to bestow on the ayre, or allure a wandring eye, and must their owne be deprived of that liberty?

Many such Morall Motives as these, speake to us in the natures of Birds: but I must not dwell on these; but hasten in this my *Historical Survey*, to the native discovery of other Creatures.

Here the *Hyene* (as *Pliny* relates) can imitate the voice of any Man, and that so neerely, as his voyce can hardly be distinguished from the voyce of him he imitateth; taking his denomination from the *Greekes*, according to his naturall rapine.

There the *Fiber*, or *Bever* (by what instinct, Humane wisdom could never reach to) to satisfy his covetous pursuer, bites off his own stones, being the prize (he knowes) for which he is pursued.

Here see the dissembling *Sphinx*, able to personate any passion, eyther of joy or sorrow. There the wonderfull nature of the *Rhynoceros*: The *Lyon* so naturally valiant, as not to be daunted; yet behold the silly *Cocke* can make him tremble! Then represent to your generous reading; the naturall enmity betwixt the *Horse* and the *Beare*, the *Wolfe* and the *Lyon*, the *Fox* and the *Badger*; such a native disagreeing remaines among these Beasts, as their hatred is implacable; ever pursuing their enemy with an inveterate hate: for an enmity ingrafted by nature, cannot be suppressed by lesse then nature.

The distinct
Natures of
Beasts expres-
sed.

Many

Many conflicts were instituted in *Rome* (at solemnization of any Festivall, or in remembrance of some memorable Exploit achieved) betwixt Beasts: whence the *Romans* gathered great knowledge, seeing the remisnesse of some Natures, and the eagernesse of others. Some of an unquailed spirit, yet in strength unable to maintain their spirit: others (like our unweldy Epicures) sinewy and fleshy enough, have strength at will, but defect of courage so curbes them, as the over-flow of ability waines in the rising; not daring to encounter with one of lesse strength, but more vivacity.

Vide Lucium Flor. in 1. lib. de Sab. Bell. & Po. sca de bello Tarent. Cap. 18.

When *Fabius Maximus* went in Embassage to *Pyrrhus*, Prince of *Epyre*, with whom (at that time) the *Romans* had Warre: hee denounced open Hostility against him and his Territories, for not performing some conditions included in the League. *Pyrrhus*, to terrifie *Fabius*, commanded his Guard to place an Elephant behind the Arras, that at their next parley, *Fabius* seeing so terrible a Beast, might of his owne accord sollicite Peace. But *Fabius* (though one at that time unacquainted with such sights, for never were any Elephants then seene in *Rome*) hearing him send out his hollow voice, replied: *The sound of a Roman Ramme will be more terrible than the voyce of an Epyrian Elephant.* But these grew after ward to publick Spectacles: so as in any Triumph of some victorious, or puissant Captaine, there were many Elephants, Ounces, Panthers, Tygers, and other savage Beasts slaine, offering them

Those Times were not knowne to that unjust-like Invention of murdering Ordinance:

“The Crane, the Grasping-becke and hurting Ramme

“Were their vile Engines when first was began.

them (in Triumphant manner) to the Temple of the Goddess *Victoria*.

Varro, a Roman Peere, one to whom the *Romane* Tongue was much indebted, did illustrate the Annals of *Rome* with their Ceremoniall Triumphs; shewing also what Beasts were wont to be sacrificed to the Gods, and for what cause that Institution was observed; If the Victory (sayth he) was purchased with the losse of blood, they used to sacrifice to *Mars*, a Cocke; but if without blood, they offered an *Oxe*.

These naturall Descriptions of Beasts are very delightfull to the generous Reader; they are very fit for illustrating any Subject; making comparison betwixt the Natures of Beasts, Birds, or Plants, and other materiall subjects of our Discourse; comparing Lust, Incest, and such lascivious exorbitances to the *Lapwing*, represented by *Tereus*, the Ravisher of *Phylomel*: Inferring by the *Spider*, Arrogancy, or Pride, that durst compare with *Pallas* for preëminency. By the *Cormorant*, grating Oppression, senselesse and remorcelesse of others Miseries. *Progne* (in a *Swallowes* habit) implying the swiftnesse of revenge to Murder.

That chaste Bird *Porphyrus*, who, as he is constant in his choice, so if hee see his love abused, his nest defiled, he dyes through griefe; as one impatient of such disgrace. Hee is sayd likewise to bite the Water, implying, that as hee is pure of himselfe, so hee cannot endure to partake of those streames, which

Si multo sanguine victoriam obtinissent, Gallum: sabbatque sa guine, Bovem Marti immolarent. &c.

are troubled or soyled with any brackish distemper.

We read how *Phineus* that impious *Arcadian* Prince, having by the perswasion of his second wife *Idaa*, put out his Childrens eyes, which he had by his first wife *Cleopatra*, was for this unnatural fact plagued of the *Harpies*: three monstrous and ravenous Birds, *Aelo*, *Ocypete*, and *Celano*, having Maiden visages. Long time was this unhappy King annoyed, what way soever he Travailed: Sea could not secure him, nor Land priviledge him. At his repast, his stomach was made queatic by their stench: and on the night time, by reason of their noise, was he rest of rest: In which story, sundry excellent Morals are daintily couched. First, how the very *Esbnicke* Poëts could invent punishments for haynous delinquents. *O quam merito divina occurrit ultio cuiusque peccati proprio obiecto!* A commanding Prince, if conscious of blood, cannot find himselfe a shroud. No shelter against Murder. Flic he to the Sea, the very waves raised by the fury of the winds, will be his remembrancers; retire he to the Land, the very Creatures will have him in pursuite, till they become his Surprizers. From his House he flies unto the field, but Furies dogge him still: no Covert in field can rescue him from his Fate.

By the *Harpies*, may be understood, that there is no Creature, but the *Supream power*, if Hee please, can make it his Avenger. But these kind of Birds were by the Poëts most properly devised

He proceeds in applying the Natures of several other Birds, to the sundry different qualities, or corruptions rather, in man.

sed to be pursuers of this bloody Prince. Their ravenous Nature agreed best with his temper. For as their Condition is to prey upon their owne; so did hee in his cruelty seaze upon his owne: And as the Eye is the first part which any ravenous Bird useth to pick at: so it was the Eyes of these Orphan-children which their Step-dame *Ida* aym'd at. Now, whereas these Birds are portrayed with Maiden-visages; we may by that safely conclude, *Frontis nulla fides* — : Amiable Features may have savage Natures. Those *Sirens* had beautifull Faces, cheerefull Voyces, but dangerous Greetings. There is more belonging to a sincere heart than a promising presence. As the stillest Waters are the deepest; so fairest Faces wound the deadliest. They are apt to allure; and happy is that wise *Ithacus*, that can stop his Eye and Eare.

These came to *Phineus* Table like beauteous Guests, but pursu'd him like hideous Ghosts. Beauty is a taking baite, it can cover Treason with a smile; but being swallowed, it becomes the Takers baine. But now see how this calamitous Prince receives reliefe, when his miseries crowded thickest: and how these intrusive Guests are expulsed, when his hopes were in despaire, and from expectance of reliefe remotest!

Calais, that valiant Sonne of *Boreas* by *Orithia*, who with *Zethes* having Wings, to accelerate their journey, flew to *Colchis* to helpe the *Argonauts*: and being in that voyage courteously used of King *Phineus*, they in recompence drave

out of his Countrey those ravening Birds called *Harpyes*.

Nor wants this Comickall passage his Morall: for hence may we gather, what benefit redounds to such as are hospitable. How those, whom they sometimes harboured for Strangers, become in time of danger their deliverers. This might be confirmed by Holy Writ; where Angels were received in habit of Strangers: and what succour they ministred to their Harbourers.

Such as these usefully applyed, will afford infinite profit to the Reader: so as, hee may delightfully enlarge himselfe by way of Discourse to any intelligible Hearer.

There be other Birds, who reteine in them an ancient naturall hatred to Beasts, from whom they conceive themselves to have received wrong; and this their hatred is implacable even to death.

The *Cowshot* or *Stock-dove* cannot endure the *Fleyser* for that old injury shee suffered before shee chang'd her Nest: so as now with an insulting jeere, which she still redoubles in her Note, shee seemingly challengeth her to come unto her: being confident that her Seate is mounted farre above her hate; so as, shee may now securely domincere, when her airy Nest pleads priviledge against all feare.

Agithus, in proportion a little Bird, yet of a strong and stout spirit; being at deadly barred with the *Assè*; for that hee destroyeth her Nest, which for the most part shee builds among the

Thistles :

Meaning Poeticall Fictions of the Humour of Birds.

Thistles : in revenge whereof, shee continually vexeth him (so apprehensive is the least Creature of an injury, and so quicke-sighted in conceiving where shee may requite her injury) by pecking him on gall'd places of his body.

This Morall may seeme to glance at such ignoble spirits, who, so they may revenge, or expresse the heate of their fury; will not sticke to exercise it upon the poorest and contemptiblest Creatures: yea, they will pick an offence before it be offered: and play upon their simplicity, by whom they were never much injured. These will ever leape over the hedge where it is lowest, and make such the prey of their fury, whom they finde most incapable of revenge, or unable to second what their reputation injoyes them to attempt. The like may be said of the *Apiaster* or *Mudwall*; a Bird that beares inveterate hate to the painefull *Bee* and her Labours. In whose Nature the quality of such persons is covertly shadowed: who, *Margites*-like, doe no good themselves, but in a profuse Riot consume their fruitlesse Dayes, feeding their Surfeits with others employments.

In many Frontier-bordering Townes wee shall see this made good by wofull experience. While such industrious people, who, to use the words of Sententious *Salust*, *Sedem Anima in extremis digitis habent*; placing their Soules in their Fingers ends, become

a booty to the violence and incursion of their Neighbouring Drones ; who seaze with strong hand (under pretence of an unsetled peace or expired League) upon whatsoever their industrious course of living had for divers yeeres deservedly gained and gathered.

There is another sweet-sented Bird, called the *Cinnamolge* ; one who will build her Nest in no other Wood than *Cinnamon*. Her onely ambition is a dainty Seat ; very singular in her consort with other Birds ; pleasing to few but to herselfe : and if at any time she deigne the Forrest that grace as to partake of her melody, Nightingal-like *Dat sine mente sonum* ———

A sweet-sented
Courtier properly
resembled.

A neare Resemblance (as if sprung from one Stemme) may this sweet-breath'd Bird seeme to have to our Court-Popinjay ; whose *sense* most commonly consists in *sent*. His Action or Gesture is nothing but Cringes ; his Breath an Ayry Complement ; his Rinde (to make this Cinnamon-Similitude more full) worth all his body beside.

When *Jupiter* and *Juno's* Wedding was solemnized of old, to make the Solemnity more compleat ; the Gods were all invited to the Feast, and many Noble-men besides. Amongst the rest came *Crysalus* a *Persian* Prince, bravely attended, rarely accoutred, rich in Golden Attires, in gay Robes, with a Majesticall Presence, a formall posture, a portly Encounter, but otherwise an Ass. The Gods seeing him come in such pompe and state, rose up to give him

him place, *Ex habitu hominem metientes*; But *Jupiter* perceiving what hee was, a light, phantastick, idle fellow; turned him and his proud followers into Butterflies: And so they continue still (for ought I know to the contrary, if the Fiction hold with Verity) roving about in pied Coats, and are called *Chrysalides* by the wiser sort of men; that is, Golden out-sides, Drones, Flies, and things of no worth. For the truth of the Fable, we will not stand much on it; but what the Poets intended by these Transformations, may be easily gathered.

What the Poets intended by these Transformations.

These Silken Gulls, who are onely to be valued by what they *weare*, not what they *are*, in this very Morall receive their Centure. They prease into the highest places; converse with Eminent'st persons; thrust themselves upon greatest businesse: but fall off still with some palpable disgrace to themselves.

They are not *intus sibrati*, and therefore must be *Deorum consilij ablegati*. Those who had no Sage in their Pates, were not held fit to be at Councill-Table with the Gods.

There is another Morall too which ariseth naturally from that Cinnamon-nested Bird; and without much Criticisme might be applyed to a Pen-feathred Citizen; who having now (as hee thinks) sufficient wealth, h'as shut up Shop, and bid adue to his Trade. And as one who had taken a surfeit of the City, h'as built himselfe a new *Fishers folly* in the Countrey. Nothing but Perspective Glasse, Porphyrite Pillars, *Thracian* Teuch,

A Country-seated Citizen properly Resembled.

Touch, and *Arabian* perfumes in every roome. Nothing but Beauty reflects in every corner, except the face of the Owner. Oh, how hee is taken with the delight of his Seate! The exquisite device of his Building! His *None-such* must be admired by such as see it, or hee holds himselfe infinitely wronged. So hee may have his Dwelling-house neatly trimmed, and the house of his Body curiously cockred, he thinks nothing can goe amisse, all things are well ordered.

Petrarch. de Remed. utriusque sort.

Meane-time, hee little remembers *Petrarchs* Counsell; who adviseth him “not to be affraid, “though the House of his Body be shaken, so “his Soule, the Guest of his Body, fare well.

Many other excellent Moralls might be from this onely Bird extracted, but brevity, the best helpe to memory, makes me omit them.

The constant Love, and amicable League of Birds amongst themselves.

I could here enlarge my Discourſe in relating the wonderfull Concord of divers Birds among themselves; as the constant League or Amity of *Crowes*, who are ever observed to take one part; the naturall love of *Stares*: and generally, how Birds of one feather flock together, and are ready to doe mutuall offices one to another. But our Naturall Historians, who have amply writt of this Subject, can sufficiently supply the Reader in this way; to whom I referre them. I will onely here resolve one question which may be demanded, and it is this: What should the reason be, why all Birds by an in-bred hate pursue the Hawke; and though they cannot annoy him, yet

yet will they flicker about him; desiring nothing more, if their powers were to their wills, than to surprize him? But the Poët h^{as} a reply ready in the persons of those Birds, which may fully as-foile this question:

*Wee hate the Hauke because of all that are
Expos'd to prey, hee ever lives in warre.*

For the *Owle* or *Batte*, or all such Night-birds, why they are so had in pursuit, if it chance they come abroad upon day-time, this reason may be given. As they are unsociable and estrange themselves from their company, having onely the priviledge of night, and the Ivy or some other retired shrowd for their Sanctuary; so they are hooted at by other Birds for their singularity, or for their neglect of civill Society.

In the Beasts of the Forrest this may likewise be observed: the *Lyon* (a fierce beast) of an Heroicke Nature, contemning the dejected ones, nor caring to feed on Carrion. Hee is of a Majesticke disposition, and hates to be ungratefull for the least benefits received: If the Mouse rid him of base servitude, he will finde time to requite her love one way or other. This may represent the person of a King (for indeede hee is the King of Beasts) who scornes to triumph over the subjected, but to tyrannise over the proud.

The *Elephant* resembles a man prest downe with honour; being once downe, he cannot rise:

Why Birds of Rapine are most hated.

Odimus Accipitrem, quia semper vivit in armis.

Why Night-Birds are had in pursuit.

Resemblances in Beasts.

he is like some great man, who puffed up with the prosperous gales of his fortunes, can finde no knees of allegiance, or submission to either Prince or State; his joynts are inflexible, and the load of his honour insupportable: once downe, impossible to rise, but by some un-usuall occurrent.

What strange effects of Nature this creature retaineth, may be instanced in this notable story. It is reported by *Philippo Pigafetta*, a Traveller of approved credit, that hee had seene with his owne eyes a very strange and admirable thing in *Coanza*, namely, that a young Elephant following his Damme, fell downe by chance into one of those Pit-falls, purposely made by Hunters, to surprisè them: and after she could not with all her skill and strength draw him out of it, she buried him therein, and covered him with earth, with branches, and with bowes, insomuch as she filled the Pit up to the top, to the end that the Hunters should not enjoy her Calfe; choosing rather to kill it her selfe (with this affectionate kind of interment) than to leave it to the mercy of the cruell Hunt-men.

The *Wolfe* (a State-gormandizer) preyes upon the innocent, suckes the blood of the Orphane, impaires others meanes to enlarge his owne: cruelty is the habiliment he best liketh, making the State a wilde Forrest for every Savage to live in, but a Shambles for the poore silly Lambkin to suffer in.

The *Goate*, your wanton and sensuall Amorist, that

that skips here and there, in every brake of vanity, till so entwined, as the sale of his reputation makes him beg for a good name : but the eyes of Generall Observance are not so dazelled, they have seene his heart, and registred his follies.

The *Bear*, one that portends by his Birth, what he will be : an unhandsome peece of flesh ; one that needs licking before hee be brought to fashion : Here's Natures deformity, charactring by the foulnessse of the body, the filthinesse of his disposition. Tyrants wee have had of this Resemblance, who came the wrong way into the world, to intimate what wrongs they would doe unto the world. But now of tamer Creatures.

The *Lambe* cannot drinke of a troubled Spring, no more can Innocence.

The *Hare* ever sleeps with open eyes : so doth good Providence.

The *Coney* is fruitfull and fearefull : So is Nuptiall Chastity.

The *Emmet* is in Summer ever fore-seeing a Winter : Such is good Husbandry.

Shall wee proceed in Birds likewise, and examine their Natures ?

The *Turtle* for Constancy : The *Crane* for Vigilancy : The *Robin* expresseth his love to Man : the *Nightingall* to Women. None more industrious than the *Larke*, More laborious than the *Wren* : more odious to her selfe, and others, than the *Cuckow* : More Heroick than the *Eagle* : More base than the *Buzzard*.

VISI TANQUAM
Orsus.

Severall proprieties resembling severall persons.

Then observe what secret instincts given to certaine Birds, to prognosticate the events of things.

The *Crow*, a fore-teller of what Weather will come to passe. The *Halcyon* or *Seamaw*, remarkable in prediction of Stormes: and the *Swallow*, *Crane*, and many others, exact observers of Seasons.

It is strange, what is observed by the naturall Historian, of the *Eagle* and *Raven*; the one, saith he, knowes *when* the Carcasse or Carrion shall fall, the other *where*. Which conceit, howsoever it may be many times erring, yet we shall ever find the *Raven* first seized on his prey, whensoever any such shall casually fall.

We may observe likewise, diverse Birds who change their note or voice according to the disposition of the weather. Sometimes by their bathing, billing, or such like signes, may be naturally gathered infallible notions of the change and various disposition of weathers.

It is sayd of the Bird *Icterus*, or as *Pliny* calls her *Galgulus*, if any man that is sick of the yellow jaundise shall see her, the man shall waxe whole, recover his strength and colour, and by degrees regain his former vigour, but the Bird shall dye. Some have holden this Bird to be one of the certainest diviners of Weathers, of all others; whence the Poet:

*Birds of the Ayre their prophesies retaine,
The Pick'tree boads a storme, the Icterus raine.
Diverse of our Navigators likewise observe,
when*

vid. Aur. Vid.

☞

Hee recounts
sundry other
Birds, which
recreue in them
naturally, in-
fallible Notions
of the
change & va-
rious disposi-
tion of Wea-
ther.

Temporis ad
vultum mutat
Cormicula ve-
tem.

Temp. is ad
morem mutat
Mussela colo-
rem.

Frondator nigri-
tatis, primum
erat Icterus
veterem.

when they are on Sea, sundry incident alterations by the noise of Sea-fowles: and are cautioned by them to make speed for Land, lest a tempest endanger their passage. Of which sort, there are Some, who leave the Sea against a storme, and flye to Firme Land; remaining there till an *Halcyon* calme invite them to returne.

There are incredible things reported of the *Spinturnix*; a Bird that wont to come to the Altars, where they were sacrificing, and carry away a burning coale as a token of ill lucke, or burning to the house where it alighted.

But these Relations are with more strength of Opinion, then probability or reason confirmed. Howsoever, no doubt but diverse Birds by a secret instinct of nature (the reason whereof to us is occult) can prenuntiate the Seasons and dispositions of weathers; which may appeare by Holy Writ; that *Lydian-stone* which can best trie the verity of all Humane assertions.

The *Swallow* and *Crane* know their seasons. So as, even that Prophet, who sometimes admonished the people, *not to be affraid for the signes of Heaven*, hath admitted these conjectural tokens. Ierem. 10. 20

For the creatures of Heaven and Earth, as they were first ordained for our use; so by our right use of them, we may improve our own Knowledge; by making every Creature, a judiciall Epitome of Nature: ever closing with a free and humble acknowledgement of his uncircumscribed Power, by whom they were created; and of whose goodnesse it is that they may in their severall na-

A divine Contemplation upon Survey had to the I well of Gods Creatures.

tures redound to our benefit, being well imployd.

When a certaine religious Brother, who had bestowed much precious time on Contemplation; and by meanes of a retyred life, to the end secular cares might lesse intangle him, had attained to such a measure of perfection that way, as he eyed nothing whereof he made not some Divine use; professed one day to One of the same *Convent*; "That he could never see any Thing, "the sight whereof did not in some manner edifice him. Oh, sayd the other, spare a little, "good brother; pray you tell me, wherein can "the sight of a Toade edifie you? Oh very much, "quoth he; for what have I deserved that God "should make me a Man and not a Toade? So "that, as often as I see a Toade, so often do I recall this benefit to mind: rendring all due "thankes to him, who according to my desert "hath not formed me like any such detestable "Creature, but hath bestowed on me the most "beautiful and royall image of my Maker.

Surely, as I have formerly observed, if our hearts were rightly disposed, by making good use of whatsoever in this inferiour Orbe wee see here created, and as proper Objects to our eyes presented; we should easily confesse, that there is no Creature so small, vile or despicable, which might not be reduced to some image or Embleme of our Life; seeing, there is none, be it never so poore nor contemptible, which presents not in it selfe the goodnes of God. "And "so by consideration had of these Temporal and Exter-

“ External benefits (to use the words of a Divine
 “ Father) to gather the greatnesse and immensi-
 “ ty of the heavenly counsell.

Neyther are these Moral applications of Birds
 and the like, whereon, upon occasion, we have
 so amply insisted, to be conceived as uselesse. We
 shall find the Store-house of all Divine learning,
 that Sacred untroubled Fountaine of heavenly
 Knowledge, furnished with Morall similitudes
 and illustrations of this kind. *As the Partrieh,*
(sayth the Prophet) gathereth the young, which she
bath not brought forth: so hee that getteth Riches,
and not by Right, shall leaue them in the midst of
his dayes, and at his end shall be a foole.

Sometimes we shall find the tender-hearted
Pellican named; the *Turtle*, and her affection de-
 scribed; the obsequious *Storke* commended; the
Sparrow upon the house-top expressed. Some-
 times Fowles addicted to prey, displayed. From
 which, we may gather excellent matter, not only
 of magnifying Him by whom they were created,
 and to their severall offices designed: but even in
 Humane discourse, we shall find many occasions
 of enlarging our selves; by application of the na-
 ture and disposition of them. So as, whosoever
 shall make an usefull observation of these fea-
 thred Fowles in the ayre, may find much more
 dainty Phylosophy in them, than in these tame
 Fooles who pride themselves in their feathred
 vanities on earth.

Other Birds there be that have more humane
 feeling: *Pliny* reports, that there bee certaine
 Birds

Aug.

Scriptura sunt
Promptuarium
bonorum Docu-
mentorum. Ba-
sil. Mag. in
Psal. 1.

Ier. 17. 2.

Birds which howle exceedingly at the Eclypse of the Sunne ; as if naturally moved by some miraculous influence or instinct from heaven, to suffer with a Divine body, so extreamly suffering: Let us descend to Wormes, Serpents, and Creeping things, we shall see in them distinct qualities also.

Natures of Serpents, and of Pagan Adorations.

See the Discourse of *Asia*, and *Affricke*, entituled: *The Fardell of Fashions*.

In *Aulular*.

Scell. de Con-
tempt. Mundi.

*Singula solatia
singulis malis
obviantia pre-
paravit Deus.*
August.

The Serpent *Pareas* creepeth on his Taile, and with the sharpnesse of his Belly makes a furrow upon the ground where he crawleth.

Strange things be reported of the Serpent *Seraphis*, adored by the *Egyptians* as a God: Others there be no lesse different in nature, forme, nourishment, and feature: Some feeding upon raw flesh, intimating their ravenous Natures: Others on fish (as divers Serpents) living upon the Banke of the River *Nilus*: Others on plants, and the fruit of Trees, which *Plautus* expresseth by the Vine-fretter:

Matura Vitis folia Involvulus carpit.

But other creeping creatures there be very beneficiall to Humane society. The *Silke-worme*, whose labours make our silken Gallants. To that excessse are we come, as our bravery must be maintained by the diligence of the simplest creatures, cloathing our selves with the very bowels of Wormes: Wonderfull is their Generation.

The *Adder* in her selfe obnoxious and hurtfull, yet she casts her skinne (to expresse her good meaning to man) an excellent cure to many diseases.

The

The poore Worme, of her selfe, neither greatly harmefull nor profitable, onely (by a Synonymy betwixt Man and Her) she is the best Mirrour of humane Glory, an Embleme of our Mortality: and an importunate Guest that will come to banquet on our bodies, though not invited: She is called *Vermis* (*quasi inermis*) she can but turne againe, that's all the defensive, or offensive weapon she hath ready.

These silly contemptible creatures be especiall Motives to a good man, of Thankfulness: the example we read in that devout Father *Anselme*; who walking one day in his garden, and seeing a poore Worme crawling under his feete, presently applyed this Christian-like use to himselfe.

O Lord, thou mightest have made mee like this Worme, contemptible and base, to live in the holes and cavernes of the earth; But such was thy mercy, as thou wouldest not: bestowing on me thine owne Image, that thy similitude might be glorified in mee. A comfortable meditation of a zealous Father, and worthy our observation.

We will now discourse of the skaly Fishes in their kind, that the Majesty and power of God (by giving such diversity of Natures to Fishes) may appeare in the Depths, as before it was manifestly expressed upon the earth, and all dry places. Here is a Tyrannicke power even in the Ocean, and an absolute government without re-

D d

straint

The Worme
a Motive of
Thankfulness,
and the best
Character of
humane frailty.

Diversities of
Natures in Fishes.

What rare properties are in the *Ambazimare*, or the Fish of the Rock & what commodious use the people of Congo make of it, may appeare in that Discourse entitled, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo.* fol. 24.

straint of power: Here is a Muscical concordancy likewise; a Diapason of Sea-inhabitants. The *Dolphin* playing a soft straine, resembling a Meane: the *Sturgeon* (swimming against the Stream) sharpeneth her Note, more neare a Treble: the *Iulis* a smooth Counter-tenor, and the rowling *Porpoise* the Base.

Iulis; vide Plinium; quam tenacem piscem appellat, &c.

Contention amongst Fishes.

Here is great enmity (likewise) for predominancy: And that amongst the greatest, the *Orcke* with the *Whale*: The *Cuttell* with the *Thorn-backe*; the *Sea-horse* with the *Sea-urchin*: Many rare vertues in little creatures: with what strangenesse the *Remora* (a fish of small bignesse) holds a Shippe, when in her full Saile? How wonderfully the *Torpedo* delivers her-selfe, being taken by the unhappy Fisher? disgorging her owne bowels, to stupefie the Taker with an uncoth amazement.

The different natures of Fishes; & where in properly they allude to Man.

Againe, to observe the ravenous disposition of the *Pike*; the sociable condition of the *Trout*; the various discolouring of the *Polypus*; the strong digestion of the *Porpoise*: would beget in these curious Surveyers of nature, much admiration. And then to compare the natures of these water-inhabitants with our selves, who follow, for most part, the bent of our desires, as if we were estranged from that beauty which incomparably most adornes us; and drenched in the leas of our owne corruptions, which makes man most unlike himselfe; by idolatrizing that which gives the greatest blemish to his Excellence.

Emblemes are devices no lesse usefull then delightful,

lightfull; to present Man best to himselfe; and to taxe him too by way of shadowing, what (perchance) he would be loath to endure in a freer manner of expression.

For tell me, how should any of our *Grand-oppressours*, who make their *Inferiours* their *sponges*: satiating themselves with violence; and spinning to themselves an estate out of others bowels: how should these, I say, read of the ravenous disposition of the *Pike*, and not reflect upon themselves? They find his nature to be such, that all is fish that comes to his net. He admits no dispensation; if his power may surprize him; he becomes his prey. Affinity, Consanguinity, all respects of civil Society must be excluded: his *wil* is his *Law*; and he must suffer that dare oppose it.

This might strike a glowing blush in our hunting *Nimrods*; who, so they may seize on their prey, and make innocence the object of their fury; neyther care for Heaven nor Hell. Judgements cannot startle them; because they are yet insensible of them. Compassion cannot supple them; for that is such a stranger, as of all other Pilgrims they never gave her harbour. Nay, humanity beares so little sway with them; as they scorne to incline to ought that may civilize them.

It is sayd, that Pictures convey deepest impressions; and that many have blushed in the perusal of some Emblemes, by eying in them their owne natures. I could wish that these, who have engaged themselves to oppression, and made injury their Darling, to looke upon the *Lucius*: who

takes his name from his quick-discerning sight ; but imployes it to an indirect end. They shall finde themselves charactred in his Life : and read such qualitics in him, as Humanity cannot chuse but loath. That cautious Impresse about his Embleme may serve too for an usefull direction :

“ Id facere laus est, quod decet, non quod licet.

Then to note that sociable Affability of the *Trout*, cannot but beget singular effects in sweete and well-tempered dispositions. This may be an Embleme to all such who affect nothing more than Concord : Litigious Suiters, who cramme Seates of Judicature with fat fees : who will doe no right, nor take wrong ; who feed themselves with Contention ; and have ever an Oare in that Boat which is imbarked in Waters of Division ; are all *Antipodes* to this Embleme.

Marcus Calius was said to have a good right hand, but an ill left hand, because he could plead against a man better than for him. But these are no such Agents : These will either doe good, or doe nothing. As they affect peace ; so every particular action of theirs merits praise. These desire not to swell great, by the Consumption of Others : nor disperse their well-grounded Fame on a disadvantageous Warre : They ever reteine their place, and impale it with this Impresse of Peace : *“ Pax una Triumphis innumeris potior—*

Then goe to your *M. chiavell* Statist, that changeable-colour'd *Polypus*. One, who can walke in a Cloud ; and disguise dangerous plots with vertuous pretences. Here you shall finde
nothing

nothing unliker a mans selfe than himselfe. He flies with the *Lapwing*, farre from his Nest, that he might be more secure : and more easie it were to finde that incredible Stone in the *Lapwings* Nest, than to retriue the secrecy of his Aymes. Though the *Polypesish* be various in Colours, and in nothing more mutable than her owne Feature : This politick Masker can vye with him in various projects : being such a faithfull Secretary to himselfe, as he scornes to have any his Intelligencer : or to discover himselfe otherwise to the World, than by pretending what is the least of his meaning. And now he is come to that height of perfection, (if wee may safely bestow such a Title on dissembling) as he is jealous of Others trust : nor dare scarcely beleue himselfe, while hee conferres privately with his owne Breast. In a word, so unequally parallel is his outward disguise, and inward conceit, as his Dissembling has begot in him, and deriv'd to us this impressivè Caution :

— “ *Quod non es, ne videre cave.* ”

Now, for the strong-digesting *Porpoise* : that naturall Description (for it shadows not onely the outward Constitution), implies the quality of such persons ; as can connive at injuries received : can suffer with an equall temper, whatsoever the iniquity of Time, or inclemency of Fate shall or may inflict. Others, while they exclaime against Destiny, & reare the Clouds with no lesse fruitlesse than godlesse Imprecations :

These with a resolved silence, and habituate patience, can *digest* all indignities: laugh at the Braves of Fortune: and with a composed spirit crowne their Sufferings with this expression:

“ *Patior potiorq; vicissim.* ”

The *Acipenser*, or which *Pliny* calls, *Sacerpiscis*, feeds on nothing but Mans flesh, implying a caveat to Man: that having so many Enemies even on Earth, and not free from them in the Depth, should not spend his time in security, but prevent the enmity of all creatures by a diligent and vigilant care to himselfe. Long could I protract this discourse, but two material parts of this Relation withhold me from insitting longer: The first whereof first offering themselves, be Plants and Vegetative Bodies.

The wisest of all Kings was much conversant in these Studies, knowing every Tree, every Hearbe, and every flower: à *Cedro Libanon*, usq; ad *Hysopum supra parietem*: An excellent Commendation in a King; not addicting his minde to other things than the purchase of Knowledge, even in inferiour things: that a generality of knowing, might make him worthy of governing.

Probus the Roman Emperour, who succeeded *Florianus* in the Empire, was much addicted to Planting, and distinguishing the Natures of Flowers, the vertues of Plants, with proper observances accommodated for the knowledge of all Seasons, apt for Grafting, Stilling, and the like: Planting the Mountaine *Almus* sited neare

Syrmius,

The Study
of Kings in
Plants, Hearbs
& Fruits, &c.

Syrinus, and the Mount *Aureus* in *Masia* the Higher, with Vines.

The like we read of *Galerius Maximinus*, Sur-named *Armentarius*; and many others of the *Romans*, whose diligence was much imployed in such pleasant affaires.

Resemblances in these vegetative Bodies, require observance; to see the *Vine* like a fruitfull Mother of many faire Children, sending out her ripened clusters, faire blossoming Sprigs, and infinite store of pretty Slippes, imitating their Mothers fruitfulness, and bending with her owne Burden, as not able to support her selfe without some stay or upholder: The pittifull *Elme* stretcheth her armes out to beare her up, in pure compassion moved to helpe her, that in her selfe and fruitfull Issue, was so helpfull unto others. Whence, some have resembled the *Vine* and the *Elme* to the *Church* and *Commonweale*; whose office it is to support the *Church* when distressed, as the *Elme* succours the *Vine* when surcharged.

The *Vine* seemes sometime to weepe (for teares indeed she sheds) as if in Throwes and paine of her Labour: These teares distilling from the *Vine* cure the Leprosie: So as she seemes both Fruitfull and Soveraigntie, yeelding no lesse comfort in her teares, than verdure in her sprays.

Many of these teare-shedding Trees there be, as the *Myrrh*-dropping *Amber*, and the *Rosined Fyrrh*: These by allusion may seeme to commiserate our unhappy states, subjected to myriads of anxie-

To what especiall Resemblances these Trees be accommodate.

Plinius.

Teare-shedding Trees.

anxieties, by the taste of one Tree, whose dismall fruit made us wretched.

Some Trees we have for harbour and shadow onely, resembling our dissembling professours; whose externall appearance makes great show of a fruitfull inside, when nothing, save a meere naked pretence of Piety, remaines in them.

Others for fruit, without any store of blossomes; and such be they as desire rather to be good, than so accounted.

*Buxus amatori
languere simi-
lima visa est,
pallor inest illi,
pallor & omnia
amans, Alciat.*

Some Trees pine away, as if surprized with an amorous passion, exemplified in the Boxe: Others shew by their freshnesse, to whom they are consecrate, as the Myrtle.

Some lose not their colour in Winter, like the patient man, who beleagred with the worst of fortunes oppositions, never changeth countenance for the matter; but like that *Venetian* Motto writ in Triumph: *Nec fluctu nec flatu movetur.*

*Aresemblance
of Odours,
Flowers, and
other Beauties
to the inward
Graces
& Ornaments
of the minde.*

Others not subject to any hurt by thunder, as the Bayes: resemble the sincere conscience, not discomfitted with any assault, or dismayed with any terrour.

Sweet Odours, Flowers, and all other Beauties strowed upon this artificiall Carpet, garnish the earth, as the internal vertues inhabiting the mind, doe the Soule: This discourse more concerning the Herbest, than Historian, makes me more brieve in the handling hereof.

*See amplifies
this Discourse
of Plants,
Herbs, and
Fruites.*

Yet in regard of that precious resemblance which they reteine (as all our Moralists have well observed) to our inward beauty, I chuse the rather

to insist a little ampler of them, by an apt comparison or paralell betwixt them and such dispositions as they resemble. For the greatest benefit that may any way redound to man, is seriously to read man : and in the Survey of inferiour Creatures, to collect wherein any of these may seeme to read a Lecture to Man ; wherein soever he comes either short or over of what is required of him. This that wise *Democritus* observed in the dissection of his Anatomies : and this should wee in our very Walkes and Recreations abroad usually practice : so may the application of them to our selves, infinitely improve us.

In our tracing and traversing the Forrest ; wee shall there finde some Trees for shade , but barren of fruite : Others lesse usefull for shade, but plenteous in fruit.

Our Sanctimonious-seeming *Non-Conformist* reteines an apparant resemblance of the one : our *Sincere Professour* of the other.

A goodly beauteous Shadow to delude vulgar eyes, sufficeth the former : but shadowes are reduc'd to substantiall fruities by the latter.

These Historicall Relations may (likewise) point at painted friendship. Where many, in their Airy professions will not strick to promise golden Mountaines : but their performance (the essentiall fruite or effect of promise) dyes alwayes in the Socket ; the sunne of that vaporious Complement expires and dyes.

That *Palme-tree* in *Congo* is usefull in both : nay, plenteous in affording all comodities, as if it contended in quality with the *Melt* of *Mexico*: For it yeeldeth *Oyle*, *Wine*, *Vinegar*, *Fruit* & *bread*. The oyle is made of the shale of the fruite. The Bread is made of the stone of the fruit. The *Wine* is drawn from the top of the tree, by making a hole therein, from whence distil- leth a liquor like milke, which at the first is sweete, but afterwards sower, and in proesse of time becom- meth very *vinegar*, to serve for *Sallets*.

Friendship (sayth the *Stagyrian*) is one soule which ruleth two hearts ; and one heart which dwelleth in two bodies. Hearts then must not be ruled by shadowes. Congies, Cringes, Curtsies and Formalities may delude, and imparadize an unexperienc'd Novice : These, I say, may transport our youngling, who never knew what dissembling meant : nor could ever yet distinguish betwixt fruite and shade, Essence and Semblance : but those, who are experimentally vers'd in the World, easily decline from such Snares. For Circumspection hath taught them such a Lesson, as they have learned to season Amity with Salt : and introduce acquaintance by experience ; least their too easie intimacy beget repentance.

Plutarch reporteth that *Plato* came forth of *Asia* into *Cilicia* for no other cause but only to see his deare friend *Phocion* the Philosopher.

Such a visit begot an amicable benefit, a Philosophicall improvement. These enterviewes were not like that of *Alcmaons* to *Crasus* : his regret was to receive gold : a sordid ayme ! when Vertue is the prize which should onely be in chace. Guilded shadowes merit approvement, but by whom ? By Fooles of the Time. But no true amity can be derived from these ; no more then fruits from shadowes. This resemblance then holds to life, both in flower and fruit.

A *Juniper tree* maketh the hottest coale, and the coolest shadow of any Tree. The coale is so hot, that if it be rak't up in ashes of the same, it continueth unextinguished by the space of a whole yeare.

Here

Plutarch's life
of Phocion

Fabulae Mans.

25.

Here is the Embleme of an incomparable disposition; here is both *heate* to refresh an afflicted friend, when with adversity benumbed: and *shadow* to solace him, when with the grandeur of businesse surcharged. Here is warmth to allay cold: and coolnesse too, to attemper heate.

Comment In 1.
Regi 6.1.

Peter Martyr sheweth, that cloathing doth keep the body warme two wayes: by keeping in the natural heat of the body: and by keeping out the accidentall cold of the aire.

Sure I am, such a friendship as is here described, and by the sweet-sented Embleme of the *Juniper*, shadowed, may be for all seasons equally accommodated: an excellent garment, being fitted both for Cover and Ornament.

Now the *Sycamore* is of an other nature: though it afford a spreading shade, it reteines no such native heat: it delights the eye, but relissheth not the taste. And this discovers our large professing friends in *Folio*; who are ample enough in protests: but all they bestow upon us in the end, are but scattred Leafes: they are rich in shade, but rare in fruit.

Who can passe by the Winter-flourishing *Cypresse*, but must paralell that Tree with an *Heroicke* resemblance.

Cupressus nobilis Emblema militis.

Fates nor Furies cannot amate him; no enemy so powerfull, nor danger so mortall, as can detract from his Spirit; or weaken his courage. He hates no Fury more then feare: nor entertaines ought with a more resolved temper, then the ex-

treamest oppositions of fortune; holding it the highest degree of happinellē to expire with honour.

I could here inlarge this Discourse with sundry instances of this kind: but I must leape from this branch, and descend to a subject lower in respect of site: but nothing inferiour in delight: being commodiously applied, as it is compendiously compiled.

For Stones, and all kinds of Minerals, it is a knowledge worthy Gentlemen: wherein I may likewise comprehend the ancient knowledge of Coines, in what Emperours time, and their severall inscriptions.

We read how *Julius Caesar* came into *Brittany* in hope to finde Pearles; though *Caligula's* trafficke seemed lesse worthy, commanding his Soldiers to gather Cockle-shells.

It is a very generous quality (and sometimes he shall be put to his judgement) to distinguish rightly and exactly of Saphires, Emeralds, Diamonds, &c. This requires exact judgement, lustres may be given to Glasse, as well as Diamonds: Adulterate Gemmes passe current with our Novice: The Silver-Smiths of *Ephesus* have instructed this Age sufficiently, and fraud must be incorporate to every Profession.

If these Gems, I talke of, were ornaments of the Mind; I should desire longer to insist upon them: but being (as these times use them) rather foment to ensnare and entrappe, than attractive motives to affect, according to their Native properties

Of precious
Stones.

*Iulium Cæsarem spe Mar-
garitarum, Brit-
anniam pe-
tisse.*

properties, being ordained as resemblances of vertues; I will not dilate of their values, but only of their power, more pertinent to my Discourse, and better according with my knowledge; who *Aeschylus*-like, have long time drawne Water out of anothers Cesterne, but never filled mine owne Bucket.

Many excellent vertues of Stones, doth *Pliny* in his Naturall History set downe unto us: As some have power to frustrate the effect of poison: Others very powerfull against the operations of Magick Spels, Witch-craft, and the like. But as a Judicious Commentary writes of him: *Multa scribit, quae meherculè vera non existimanda sunt*: Yet to stand in suspence with us (for the reverence of such a learned Author) because their effects have not beene as yet tried of us.

Many things (I confesse) seeme by all probability like the *Amalga*, to have more Moone than Sunne in them: But the experiments which wee have in some, makes us more credulous in others.

The *Diamond* (whose Character is not to be razed) resembles the pure impressions of vertue we have received, and which is traduced to us, by the intellectuall eye of the soule, which in no case should be razed or abolished in us, but to be augmented with a greater increase of vertues: It resembles also the truely Charitable man, that to doe good to others, impaires his owne fortunes. For the best Motto that ever was made of the *Diamond*, was this: *Dum formo, minuo.*

The vertues of Stones described.

X
The patient man like the Stone *Galassa*, Hard as the *Diamond*, cold like Ice, not to be fired. Or the Stone *Amiantus*, once on fire will never goe out.

strange effects
in stones.

The stone *Mithax* (saith *Pliny*) is of a perfect colour, till opposed to the Sunne, and then it loseth his colour: It alludeth to many of our painted Sepulchers, our She-puppets: none more cleare, or amiably-coloured then they, till the Sunne glitter on them, and their slightly-laid-on varnish, presently then dissolveth: *Quantum mutatur ab illa?* True *Sodoms* Apples, no sooner touched, then to dust and corruption turned.

Allusions of
certaine stones
to int small
Graces.

Topaz, her opposite (in Native vertue) shineth most in the thickest darknesse: The very Idea of Vertue her selfe: The Clouds cannot interpose themselves betwixt her, and her Native lustre: The *Glo-worme* glisters not more by night, then it doth in obscurity: A pretious stone fittest for these times, and an ornament wel-beseeming the greatest Personage: for the cloud of Error should not be able to obscure their thoughts, ever bending their course to the marke of honour.

Re semblances
of pretious
stones to those
choise vertues
which should
appear in
man: with
their distinct
properties or
effects.

The pretious stone *Diocletes*, though it have many rare and excellent soveraignties in it, yet it looseth them all, if it be put in a dead Mans mouth. Wherein One makes a proper resemblance to *Prayer*; which is the only Pearle and Jewell of a Christian: though it have many rare and exquisite vertues in it, yet it loseth them every one, if it be put into a Mans mouth, or into a Mans heart either, that is dead in sin, and doth not knocke with a pure hand.

What soveraigne power the *Whites* is sayd to reteine in repelling the poison and rebaiting the sting of the *Viper*! What secret vertue lyes hid in the

the *Dionysias* in staying blood ; as in others of refusing blood!

Our naturall Historians make mention of a certaine stone found in the *Lapwings* nest ; the incredible occult vertue whereof is such, that the Party who beares it about him, shal by the power thereof make all things visible to him, yet he visible to none ; discovering all things without discovery : disclosing others with a personal secrecy.

No doubt but *Gyges* Ring had some relation to this stone ; to whom *Candaules*, that doating King, shewed his wife naked : which indiscreete part rest him of Kingdome, Wife, and Life. For the Queene being grieved thereat, to have any strange Eye so familiarly knowne to the secrecy of her beauty ; which even in native Modesty, exacted a vaile to priviledge it from such an open discovery, caused *Gyges*, upon the tender of her Princely affection, to slay the King ; to take up on him the Kingdome, and to take her to his wife. This *Gyges* had a Ring (as Divine *Plato* reporteth) that had vertue to make him go invisible.

They that looked upon *Sylla's* Ring, could not choose but take notice both of *Sylla's* Scale and the Treason of *Jugurth*, because that was graven on the Scale. Excellent Morals are shadowed in these : and such as usefully applied, may redound highly to the appliers benefit.

Strange effects are reported of the *Calazia* (by the Testimony of *Hesych.*) a stone of precious vertue, having in it spotslike unto Haile. Sovereaigne, as may be collected by what our Historians

Lapillum variegatum coloris in nido upube invenies, cuius occultam virtute, nulli visus omnia videas, nulli nota omnia detegas.

Plut. in vit. Syll.

rians have writ of it, to cure any burne or inflammation. So as, this might well reteine that divine Hieroglyphick of one Cardinall Vertue, *Temperance*. If heate of affection transport us; any unbounded passion surpris us; the spirit of vaine-glory inflame us, that we cannot take our naturall rest with *Themistocles*, for his ambitious emulation after *Miltiades*: or finde that ravenous appetite ever raging, ranging and reigning in us, which sometimes accompanied that gluttonous *Cambletes*: or to satisfie our unconfined desires with the Delicacies of Earth, as if it were on Earth to satisfie Man, with licentious *Lucullus*: or to plot new devices how to innovate in a distemper'd State with *Sertorius*: or to enrich our Cofters by others ruines, and milch the State with our Oppressions, like another *Acilius*. If these, or any of these distempers seaze upon us, that *Calaxia* of *Temperance* (for so is that Stone properly resembled) will moderate them in us: by reducing us to that Resemblance we had lost; and moulding in us that *Effigies* which we are above all others to love. For as nothing can be happily atchieved, or gracefully performed, unlesse it be seasonably acted: so no Vertue may properly reteine that Style, unlesse it be by *Temperance* seasoned.

The *Pyropus*, what beauty and vertue it holds; all our Naturalists have amply discoursed. No Subject, be it never of so cold nor freezing a nature, can alter his temper. This Stone ever reteines his heate; so as, it may be properly compared

pared to the temper of such a composed minde; who stands resolved against all the affronts or insults of Fortune. No palsey-seare can amate him; no distemper alter him. With the heate of his owne Nature hee knowes how to thaw all those icy congelations, which proceed from a weake or pusillanimous spirit. Such an Ones blood flies not from his heart to his face; but from his face to his heart. For though his outward visible part expresse a pallid feare; his heart scornes to give harbour to such a Traytor.

He findes nothing so weake as that despicable minde; who *Protheus*-like, changeth his heart with the habit of the Time; and desires to comply with Greatnesse, and to fawne on silken Vice; vowing it, as one stricke amaz'd with the splendor of it, to be all vertuous. Much otherwise affected is his spirit, who like the unquenchable *Pyropus*, smiles at nothing more than the indignities of Fortune: and esteemes nothing lesse, than vicious Greatnesse. And if it chance at any time (as such Occurrents are every where obvious) that a base-creeping spirit, who relyed more on the *shelter* of Greatnesse, than *Honour* of Goodnesse, perith in his hopes, and dye in the straw: This tickles his honest Lungs with laughing *Democritus*; closing his Observation with this Poëticall Ayre:

*This 'tis to build upon a Great mans word,
And soole himselfe with following of a Lord.*

The *Parus lapis* or Touch-stone, Some, and that not improperly, have compared to affliction: It

is this that trieth Man whether he be *true-Touch* or no. This confirms that golden Sentence of a devout Man: "We are unknowne to our selves, till affliction lye us open to our selves."

We shall observe many, whose outward tincture promiseth nothing-lesse then the purest colour of Heraldry, prove Copper in the touch. All is not gold that glisters.

Outward apparances are shady fallacies. The habit displays not the Heart, nor the outward Semblance the inward disposition of the Mind.

Cicero sayd of *Galba's* leaden and lumpish body: *His wit had an ill lodging*; which may be truly applied to all these dissembling pretenders: such promising Leases are ill bestowed on such barren Trees. Shadowes, though they hold a concomitance with Substance, yet are they never really the same. That man only deserves so noble a style, who imbraceth faith and fealty, intertaineth love and loyalty, improveth his courage and constancy amidst all encounters: yea, when the extreamest beleaguers and assaults of Fortune have done their worst, remains ever *true-touch*.

In the discourse of the Ceremonies of *Mecha*, we shall find a rare device there recommended to our view, in the perpendicular placing of that *Sepulchre* of *Mahomes*: Meerely contrived by that cunning Projector to delude the *Mahome-sans*, by making them beleeve that to be a miraculous Object, which to more approved and refined judgements appeared only a native experiment.

How *Mahomet* the first deluded his credulous posterity, with an opinion of miraculous Sanctity, in that very Monument which hee had caused to be erected in his Memory.

periment. Those that write of that Subject, describe it thus : There is an *Adamant* placed in the Roofe above, and a *Magnet* fixed in the pavement by an equall or direct line below; now, the *Sepulchre* of *Mahomet* made of solid iron, hangs in a Diametrall manner betwixt these two: without stay or supportance of either. This begot in those bewitched people a wonderfull amazement, honouring that Monument with their yearly Processionall visits; offering rich presents to that *Mahometan* Shrine: never understanding those occult vertues of the two Stones fixed above and below; who, by their naturall opposition and enmity (as one maligning the others attractive quality) would not suffer that heavy ponderous body either to ascend or descend; but to reteine an equall site or location betwixt them both. This it was that confirmed these *Mahometans* in the strength of a deluded opinion, that their *Mahomet* was a great and powerful Prophet, shewing such high proofes and demonstrences of his extraordinary abilities living; and leaving such a Miracle for all posterity to admire in his departing.

But to leave their effects, and returne to their Emblemes : The *Adamant* is compared to One that is truly-affectionate ; ever bearing this peculiar Impresse : “ *Si me amas, mihi Adamas.* ”

Rare Experiments have our ancient Professants made of the *Aspilates*, a Stone, according to the Testimony of *Democritus*, of a fiery colour, got in *Arabia*, and found in a certaine kind of

Birds Nest. He reporteth, that this Stone being tyed with a *Camels* haire to any one troubled with the Spleane, it will cure him.

Diodorus relateth of a kind of Salt, called *Ammonick*, and found in *Affrick* under Sand; when the Moone groweth toward the full; it is like Stone-allumne, and is medicinable in dissolving and purging of Fleagme.

Pliny likewise reports strange things of the *Ammonis Cornu*; being a precious Stone of the colour of Gold, representing the shape of a *Rammes Horne*; of a powerfull quality in causing true Dreames. But many of these, I must freely confesse, like the *Amalga*, have farre more *Moone* than *Sunne* in them; being many times related, rather to beget admiration, than gaine credit: Albeit, wee are not altogether to distrust them, unlesse our owne Experience had found the contrary to evince them. Howsoever, sure I am, their Resemblances give an excellent grace and beauty to any discourse, whether Morall or Divine.

There is a *Crowne*, (saith *St. Peter*) that is undefiled, which never fadeth away. The *Greeke* words, *Αμιαντος*, *Αμιαντος*, which *St. Peter* useth, are *Latine* words also: and they are not onely *Appellatives*, being *Epithetes* of this *Crowne*, but also *Propers*; the one the proper name of a Stone, the other of a Flower. For *Isidore* writeth; there is a precious Stone called *Amiantus*; which, though it be never so much soyled, yet it can never at all be blemished: and being cast into the
Fire,

Fire; it is taken out still more bright and cleane;
Also *Clement* writeth; that there is a Flower,
called *Amarantus*, which being of a long time
hung up in the House; yet it is still fresh and
greene. To both which, the Stone and the Flo-
wer, the Apostle, as *Dani* perswaded, alludeth in
that place.

To recount the vertues of all; were a super-
fluous Task; for so should I make a Collection
meerely of what hath beene Written before; I
only set downe with my selfe, to extract the spe-
ciallest, and to make resemblances of them with
the Native proportions of such things, as are
most usuall objects to our outward senses. I will
briefly touch the admirable devices, of Minerals,
and so proceed to my intended Discourse.

Mines the lower layd, the better: in them we
discowert (as it were) Nature of her hidden trea-
sures; yet the Earth; like a kind and bountifull
Mother; willingly unrips her owne breast, to
enrich her Children; the divers veines, and cor-
dons which we find there, like hidden or con-
cealed streames; having filled up their Treasure
channels (because so long time unemptied) mini-
ster store of all Mettals unto their Digger.

Casar in his Commentaries, seemes greatly to
have delighted herein, having so quickly found
out with what sorts of Mettals, these *Brittaine*-
coasts most abounded: Some we have of these
Mineralists that by the superficies of the Earth,
can judge, what kinde of Metall best agrees
with that Soyle; and without piercing

*Clemens Alex-
andr. Peda-
gog. li. 1. ca. 2.*

*Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.*

*Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.*

*Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.*

*Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
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*Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
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*Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.*

*Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.
Id. Id. Id.*

the ground (can prettily well) presage the event of their labour: Their Studies deserve cherishing, being grounded on honest foundations, and such as have much benefited their Countrey by their industry.

The North-part in their Copper-workes most laborious, merit their share of Commendations, both profiting themselves, and yeelding an ample gain to the Kings Revenues out of their Labours. The most precious Mines have beene ever found out in Regions least inhabited, and where the Inhabitants could make little or no use of so large a bounty of Nature, as to this day among the *Indians*; men that would exchange their preciousst things for trifles: like *Asops* Cock, preferring a Barley-corne, before a Pearle.

Yet in these labours (in themselves prayse-worthy) I altogether disallow, such (of which our reading ministers too many examples) that have digged the Sepulchres of the dead, to find some hidden Treasure buried with them. A sharpe Law was enacted (for this end) amongst the *Egyptians*, (which Nation used to interre their chiefe Jewels with the dead party) that whosoever should violate the sacred rites of the dead, by digging up their Treasures inchested with them, should be buried quicke.

A pretty story to this purpose is recorded of *Semyramis*, that valiant Queene of *Affyria*; who before her death, commaunded that a faire Monument should be erected over her, upon which should

The North-part famous for Copper-workes, by their labour and industry yeelding no small benefit to their Countrey.

Which works, though of late yeeres discontinued, are now with much improvement and honour to the under-takers, revived.

A pretty Caution for a Miser.

should be engraven this Inscription: *Whosoever shall digge up this stone; let him but looke under it, and he shall finde an infinite masse of treasure.* C^yrus having conquered that people, chanced to come where that curious monument was erected; and seeing this Inscription upon it, presently commaunded the Stone to be taken up; which being done accordingly, he found no Treasure, but this caution of better value then all Treasures: *None but Fooles and Misers would digge up the bones of the dead.* A reward well fitting the miserable desire of an insatiate Mind.

I might annexe to this Discourse, the excellent study of Antiquities, and speake in part of them; But our coast is freighted with such elaborate Antiquaries, as the digression might seeme lesse necessary. Through all the body of this Discourse (including Physicall Relations) I have but shadowed the chiefest, without entention to intreat of every particular, using *Valerius Maximus* words: *Quis omnis avi gesta modico voluminum numero comprehenderit?* I will descend to *Mixt Histories*, which was the last branch of my division.

M*ixt Histories* are composed, or compounded of all those three, of which we have sufficiently entreated before. Variety of subjects best agree with the frame of these Writings; They expresse to the quicke, not only what was done Discursively, but what should have beene done

Mo-

Mixt Histories.

Mixt Histories
composed of
all kinds.

Morally; and deriving the event from probable causes, arising from nature, they conclude their Discourse, making it Universall. Some have stiled these *Miscellanea*, because a commixture of all affaires; they playing the Morall Philosopher aswell as Historian; comprehend all which the other could any way seeme to entreate of; being the abridgement of all Relations, and in themselves sufficient to produce incredible effects: they require especiall Reading, ripe Judgement, and an apt Disposition withall to make their members, so diversly hanging, unite in one maine body.

The Cōmendation of *Mixt Histories*; with Instances of sundry Historians both Ancient and Moderne, who have bene usefully vers'd therein.

And to descend now to a commendation of *Mixt Histories*; with instances of sundry Historians both Ancient and Moderne, who have bin usefully vers'd therein. There be none in my opinion, who better deserve the Palme in Subjects of this nature, then those ever-living Labours of *Thuanus*, *Surius*, with that excellently composed History of *Paulus Jovius*. And for a continued Allegory, never Relation deserved more approbation, both for Style and State, then *Barclay's Argenes*. An History, which puts on the face of things really done; yet meerey shadowing Persons of State, under borrowed names: Expressing his owne aymes in such an implicit, but pleasing manner, that this Isle (since such Assayes must of necessity be attempted) might have esteemed herselfe highly happy, in affording him a deserving Translator; or according to his own thoughts, a faithful Interpretor.

Histories

Histories of this nature (as I have else where observed) doe not onely make relation of what is actually done; but insert such personall applications, as may benefit the understanding Reader; by making use of exploits done, and applying the use of what was formerly done, to succeeding times. Others harmes make us beware of incurring the like. Where Reading of men, and taking a punctuall Survey or Examen of their actions, we become many times wiser, than if we had beene wholly vers'd in reading of Bookes. It was a witty saying of an outwardly-contemplative man, *Relegatur libri, relegantur viri.* "Lay aside Bookes, and take your selves to reading of Men. So long as the *World* is a *Theatre*, *Man* must needs be an Actor. The Booke-holder stands in the Tiring-house; but the Action must be presented on the Stage. This, those excellent Historians, singularly expressed, and to life portrayed; when they made not onely mention of what was done, but the natures of those persons interessed in what was done.

Heere they describe fiery-furious Spirits, more ready to attempt than advise; Action in these ever goes before resolution. Contrariwise, others of a slower but safer temper, consider of the end and issue, before they will attempt. No glowing spirit of ambition; no transportancy of vaine-glory can lessen their discretion. Their actions are rightly measured, because advise and deliberation are their Counsellours of State. This might be instanced in a fore-slowing *Fabius*, and

forward *Cestegus*, a precipitate *Cleon*, and a prepared *Bracidas*.

A singular observation recommended to Gentlemen in their reading of History. *Plutarchs* paralleling of Princes, highly commended.

Now, in Discourses of this kind, there is a singular observation which I must necessarily recommend to all our Gentlemen who affect the reading of History; and this I have culled from that Father of all Historians, *Plutarch* himself. Who, as he describes the Lives of such Princes or eminent Personages as he takes occasion to treat of; so he likewise parallels or compares their actions and dispositions one with another. Here he shewes what exploits such a person did; how he bore himself in the passage of them; how he came off with honour; how he moderated his affections in the achievement of a victory; how he behaved himself to those he conquered; how he spared most, where he might most have spoiled. Here hee instanceth some more able to get a victory, than skilfull to use it: others wise enough in making use of it, having once obtained it. Some made happy by suffering misery: others miserable in never partaking infelicity. Some constant friends, but inconstant foes: others constant foes, but uncertaine friends. Some apter to perswade, than personally to performe: Others had all their Rhetorick plac'd in action: Their Oratory was a Martiall Summons: yet what they wanted in discourse to bring on their Souldiers; they supplied in boldnesse of adventures: exposing their persons to all dangers. Some stout enough of spirit, while their bodies were weake; but weake.

weake in spirit when their bodies grew strong. To confirme this, hee reports that *Antigonus* had in his army a valiant Souldier, but of a sickly body: *Antigonus* observing his valour; and grieving that so stout a resolution should bee seconded by so weake a constitution, procured his Physicians to take him in hand, and he was healed. Now being sound, he beganne to fight in some feare; to keepe himselfe a good distance from danger, no more venturing into the vanne or forlorne place of the battell. *Antigonus* noting, and wondering at this alteration, asked him the cause of this new cowardise. He answers, "O *Antigonus*, thou art the cause. Before I ventured nothing but a diseased Corpes, and then I choose rather to dye quickly, then to live sickly: I invited death to doe me a kindness. Now it is otherwise with me, for I have somewhat to lose.

Such delightfull passages as these, shall we every where finde interveined in these mixt Discourses.

I approve of *Salusts* opinion: *Exijs Negotijs qua ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usu est memoria rerum gestarum.* Yet of all those Records, none in themselves more eminent, because none more elaborate than *mixt Histories*: they contract in one leafe (as it were) what a whole Volume could scarcely comprehend. There must be a generall knowledge in these discourses, making a well-composed body of many scattered limbes, gathered from the Relickes, or allies

These require a generall knowledge, & extend further than all the rest.

of their deceased Authors. For as a good Limner wil not see any blemish in his portraiture; but (ere he hang it out) will desire to make every part and proportion in a kinde of correspondency, to move a more deepe impression in the beholder: So should there be an equall correspondency in these kinde of Histories; letting no discourse passe (if of consequence) without a mixture of both Morall, and Physicall reasons; lest one little blemish (one omission of either) should be a disparage to the whole. Here *Antomedon*-like, he should set out vertues Table, making his life a Globe of Precepts: There, like an excellent Naturallist, he should dilate upon the natures of things, or probable reasons (as as I said before) derived from Nature. The master-piece (like the warpe in the webbe) is Discourse: for these Butteresses, without a maine foundation, would soone decay.

Wits compared to Soiles: some naturally fruitfull, without forcing: others, without continuall labour and tillage, will bring forth nothing but tares (or the Husband-mans terres.) Some fit for Barley, others for Wheat, Oates, or the like: and some most apt for Missellane. So in wits, some naturally ripe and forward; others require a more deliberate dispatch: one more present, the other more solid. Pregnant and ripe wits are not so good; they are like a Rasor keene & sharpe, but his edge is soone rebated. One compared them, & not unfairely, to soft wood, ready to receive any impression from the Limner; but for warping, is un-

able

A judicious
distinguishing
of wits.

able to keepe, and therefore not fit for any worthy or curious portraiture. Such wits are these, which be rather apt for invention, than judicious scanning of any Authors: they can invent, better than extract; and consequently unfit for these mixed Discourses whereof we now entreate.

Exquisite Labour is the producer of these Histories; which (for the most part) is intollerable to your sharpest wits; being rather for the present, than any serious deliberation.

Salust in his *Jugurthine Warre*, includes a pretty commixture of Histories, as if hee had intended to make a President for Relations of this kind, where he brings in *Micipsa* upon his death-bed, speaking to his sonnes: *Equidem ego regnum vobis trado firmum: Si boni eritis, sin mali, imbecillum.* Wherein hee so lively characters the state of Princes, and the morall instruction of a Father dying, to his Children; with the severall Natures and Dispositions of them; that it seemes he purposed to instance this kind of writing in so excellent a Subject. Here he shews Dissimulation in a Prince, even at his end: there an unworthy plot of an adopted Sonne, seeking to reigne by indirect meanes. Here *Micipsa* exhorts them; with, *Colite salem hanc virum, imitamini virtutem.* Yet he intimates withall, his feare of aspiring, seeing his Nature so boundlesse. There he describes the jealous doubts, and perplexed windings of *Adherball*; there the drooping spirit of *Hyempsall*; and the royall disposition of *Jugurth*: so as by reading their divers natures,

Example of
mixt Histories

one might conjecture for whom the government of *Numidia* was reserved.

Mixt Histories
most fruitfull.

These Histories are most fruitfull, they draw both Attention, and they comprehend in them great plenty of Instruction. Attention by their Variety, Instruction by their Morality; including a perswasive kind of writing in the one, and a delightfull proceeding, or continuance in the other.

Some Historians in this kind, and not unfitly, lay open the causes of decayes in Cities, Empires, and Governments: as *Romes* fall proceeding from her imperiall Pride, *Babylons* from her Riot, the *Medes* from their Security, the *Tyrians* from their sumptuousnesse in Apparrell; the Christians (in Easterne parts) more to their shame, and our grieffe, from their civill dissention among themselves.

17

Occasion might be here taken of laying open those especiall grounds, from whence our Historians have probably drawne their Reasons of enfeebling the greatest and flourishingst States; taking breath, as they conceived, from these three particulars: *Innovation in Government, Manners, Habit.*

GOVERN-
MENT.

For the first; no Instance more to life, than when the *Roman* Monarchy became rint and divided to the *Triumviri*; The Empire begun to feele strange Scepters.

The former state of Government, which had made it selfe so fearefull to her Neighbour-kingdomes, as they feared nothing more than to offend

offend their *Mistresse*; (for so might *Rome* at that time be properly styled) became more sleighted. Those sinewes of Warre, which before shewed strength in her publick Treasury, became exhausted; Those *Lawes*, which either the necessity of the present time had enacted, or the fulnesse of their State required, through the difference of Commanders, neglected.

The saying is, Plants transplanted seldome thrive; No more, Empires, when their state of Government is altered; their ancient *Lawes* annulled; the rule by which they were formerly directed, wholly relinquished. New Lords will alwayes have new *Lawes*: and to their Examples are their Followers ever moulded. There is nothing that becomes our naturall complexion better than her owne colour; whatsoever it borrows of Art, rather blemisheth than bestoweth any beauty on her.

I must confesse indeed, that in the dresse or fashion of our Attire, many devices there are (presupposing ever that they be not apish nor garish) which give a good grace to the Wearer, and doe better become him, in respect of the time wherein they are used, than if the Old Wardrobes of our Ancestors were ransacked, and those ancient Weares brought againe in request. But Antiquity ever holds best correspondency in Managements of State: the more the manner of their Government is altered; the more their Manners are for most part corrupted.

This

This it was, that so much afflicted *Solon*; after such time as hee had laboured to settle the State; revive her usefull Lawes; and lay downe all grounds that might any way improve their Government. After all this, I say, to see the people given to *Innovation*; rejecting with much sleightnesse and contempt, what hee had both by travaile and counsell endeavoured to establish and enact. This grieved him more than his owne Banishment, or whatsoever that unthankfull Age could possibly inflict.

MANNERS.

Secondly, for *Manners*; Those are best-be-seeming, which are most Native. Alwayes provided, that those places or Countries be Civill, where those *Manners* are used, or Lawes observed. The *Scythians* were not to conforme themselves to the Manners nor Discipline of the *Egyptians*; nor these to the *Scythians*. The *Lacians*, whose strict Discipline both for Meate, Drinke, and Apparell, made them imitable Presidents to their Neighbours; could not endure that the proud *Babylonian* should commere with them; nor the dispassionate *Theban* to converse with him; nor the covetous *Tyrian* to trucke or traffick with him; nor the riotous *Sydonian* to take repast with him; nor the force-rous *Egyptian* (who was no lesse blacke in superstition than he was of complexion) to consort with him.

Their ancient *Manners* they retained; which not observed, they ever feared, that their State (as they had exemplarily seene in others) might be enfeebled.

Thirdly

Thirdly and lastly, touching *Habit*, (a small thing may some suppose to dissolve the maine Fabricke of a mighty State) we shall finde what care and sedulity some States have vsed in retaining the ancient *Habit*, recommended to them by their Ancestors.

Darius having altered the fashion of his blade, which vsed to be *Persian*, into the forme of the *Macedonian*; in the year before he fought with *Alexander*, the Chaldees or Soothsayers prophesied, that into what fashion as *Darius* had altered his Sword, it would become Ruler of *Persia*. And the issue or conclusion seconded this prediction.

Semyramis commanded all to weare Tyars vpon their heads, and to put vpon them Womens apparell, to cover their effeminate parts. But this new effeminacy of *Habit* brought a speedy subversion to that State: For vpon the death of their Queene, whose imperiall mind affected nothing more then command, this their Womanish *Habit* brought them into contempt.

Thus haue the flourishingest Commonweales fallen to desolation and dissolution, their highest Spires ruinate, their Temples, with their Places of prophane adoration, defaced; nothing remaining to boast of, save that they once were happy, once victorious. Yea, *Ingrith* himselfe seemes to expresse the cause of *Romes* ruine; she wing how subject they were (even the purple Fathers, the reverent Benchers) to take bribes, and

Innovation in Government, mannes, habit, occasions of enfeebling a State.

Causes precedent directors to the events.

receiue oynments, w^{ch} would close their mouths for speaking in the Common-weales behalfe. For when he was complained of vnto the Senat, for the murder of *Hyempfall*: and the Senat having then government over *Numidia* in chiefe; which Realme (as others) was tributary to them, commanded *Iugurth* to appeare before them vpon such a day; fully resolved to punish his insolencies. He so wrought by rewards, as their censure was not onely mistigated, but (as the Historian records) *Tanta commutatio incessit, ut ex maximâ inuidiâ in gratiam & favorem nobilitatis Iugurtha veniret.* A strange Metamorphosis, when states were so soone changed, which portended a sudden change of their government, falling from so great glory, and eminence, to eternall obscurity.

Many Histories of these natures there be, which depend vpon apt allusions, equally mixt with Discursive, Morall, and Physicall: Discursive to delight and tricke on the appetite, by a sweet variety; seeing the change of great states in a few Leaves; being a speech meerey documentall, to better our Liues, teach us what should be done, as well in private as publike. Physicall, in the character of severall natures, aptly accommodated to the Subject whereof we entreat. With what delight do we reade the divers inclinations of Princes? Here a *Catiline*, doing little, and speaking much: There a *Iugurth*, doing much, and speaking little. Here a *Philip* drunke, and in his drunkenesse raging against his foes: there an *Alexander*,

Distinct pro-
metes in all
Histories.

Inclinations
inherent in
Princes.

Alexander, drunke too; but in his passion raging against his best friends. Here a *Cæsar*, then whom, none ever did more good to his followers: there a *Nero*, then whom, none more desertlesse to his followers. Here a working crafty wit, stirring up trifling rewards, to containe him in suspence; instanced in *Tiberius*: there an affable mind, set out in threed-bare words, one that could never flatter; specified in *Titus*.

These severall natures we may see, and marke what successe they had: Some, the more thinking, the more not knowing what to thinke: yet to obserue the worke of Heaven, seldome or never haue these suspitious heads cause to rest; but the more they suspect, the more motiues they haue to suspect: for this craft is alwayes hatefull, and procureth enemies: Subtill counsels being odious vnto the world, and so dis-favoured of God, that they are alwayes waited on, and attended with most vnprosperous ends. We shall see in prophane stories a maine diversitie, even in the simplest and shallowest vnderstandings; the subtillst scouers the meanes of their owne decay; as in *Sejanus*, who in the opinio of his owne worth grew in time, *Ferox sceleris*: Such aspiring spirits be (for the most part) vsed like Sponges, wet with their spoyles and extortions, with which being a long time soaked, they are at last crushed and condemned, that their long-gathered wealth might returne to the Princes Coffers. *Trajan* vsed to call the Treasury or Exchequer (by way of comparison) the *Spleene*, because it

An observati-
on worthy our
note. Subtill
Counsellors
produce vnpro-
sperous ends:
And to their
Counsellours
popular hate.
Vertue ever at-
tended with a
prosperous
end.

Policy her
owne ruine,
accomplishd;

increasing, brings to all the other parts a pining.

¶

What Various Occurrents, nay fearefull and vnexpected Disasters haue ever bene the attending teares of ambitious Spirits; No Historie but can beare witnessse. How safe and secure haue many lived; Free from feares within, and Foes without; Retired from the Concourse of litigious Plaintiffs; Clamour of Courts; Heate of Conrivals: Nay, whatsoever else might breed their di quiet? Yet see the misery of Ambition! On they must, be it to their ruine. Examples they find store to caution them; precepts both diuine and morall to informe them. Yet neither can the former worke any impression on them; nor the latter by more easie perswasions waine them.

The misery of
ambition.

Commynes reports, how *Charles* the third, vnder whom he so long time served, communicating himselfe so freely both in matters of aduice and action for the aduancing of his service; was ever casting in his mind after businesse of greatest difficulty; „Yea such, perhaps, saith he, „ as exceeded the abilities of man.

This was a strange disposition; And yet we shall meeete with many of this nature, both in the course of our Reading and Living. We shall obserue some, who, though they haue a faire-bet path to walke in, yet will they leaue the tracke, and make the Wall or some other high Mount their Wilke. So fares it with these, who had rather fish in Troubled Waters, then when they are Calme. No Night so darke; no perill so fatally

tally imminent: But with cheerfulness they will attempt, what their inconsiderate boldness prompts them to. Nor is this their forwardness fore'd out of want; For many of these abound in all fulness; rich in fortunes; Strong in followers: Yet miserable in both these. For as their fortunes feed their followers: So doe their followers feed on them. These Faunes are they, who make Fooles of their Masters; And by throwing out strange lures, miserably seize on them. The daring *D' Ambois*, and that braue *Byron* were Spirits of this temper. Great enough in Princes favour; loaden sufficiently with honour; onely unhappy in this, in that they knew not their owne happiness: Miserable, in that they had never tasted misery.

It is well observed by one, in his Discourse of this Subject; that of all frenzies, there is none that maddes man more then Ambition. It makes him thinke he walks altogether invisible; *Ixion* was never more deceiv'd with a Cloud, then he is with his disguise.

There is one thing more in it; this madding fancy, or raving frenzy is of that nature, as no friend can be secure, so his fall may purchase their ayme. *Clitus* Constancy cannot secure him, when Ambitious' heate mixt with Wine, egges on his Master to an indeliberate revenge.

Yet see the just doome of these! Who, as they build their plottes vpon vnsecure Grounds; Or, which is of all others hatefull'st, because to themselves in their passage hence the heaviest, on
 H h 3 blood;

blood; Which is never shed in vaine: So are they to receive, what their deluded greatnesse made them believe they could never suffer.

Greatnesse can be no Subterfuge to guiltinesse.

Then, and never till then, are they brought to acknowledge, that a greatnesse can be no Subterfuge to guiltinesse. Then must that veile, which had so long shrowded them from the sight of men, be removed; their princely persons with their vnprincely actions discovered and paralel'd. So poore a Support is *painted Clay* to build vpon.

Nor be these Ambitious Spirits onely heere to be taxed; who, though they fall, they fly faire: But such, who abuse that place to which their *Princes* favour hath raised them; by base mercenary wayes. These are they who play the *Sharks* vnder the hatches. Not a petition must be presented, but it must be guilded. As for their owne Suites, they little care how they worke vpon the Spirit of the State; how they discourage the peoples just indeavours; how they increase the Widdowes teares, aggravate the Orphans wrongs, and multiply their abuses to maintaine their Surfets. Or if parcimonious, how they enrich their owne Coffers with others Curses. For these, I would haue them made *Spunges* of; that as they suckt and milkt the Lowest, so they might be soakt and inulc't by the Highest.

Vnconscionable Problers should be made Sponges of, for example to others.

The simple (or innocently-imagining Statist) comes ever to an expected end in his hopes; as they are not great, so not subject to so great an Eclypse:

Eclipse: yea, the hopes of these men attaine sometimes ends about expectance: Such was *Helvius Pertinax* his successe, who (never aiming at the Title of *Emperour*) was crowned when he was from thoughts of Titulary honour most sequestred: *Repugnansque suscipiens*, vsing a kinde of withstanding ere he would entertaine so great a weight. And in all Histories, if we obserue the diuers occurrents which befell men in great and eminent places, we shall see ever the honestest purposes seconded with the happiest events, and the disproportion of the end ever sorting with the discordance of the mind: for the intention is discussed by Him that layeth the foundation of all Empires in dust at his pleasure breathing ever vpon the sincere purposes of the good, and confounding the deepe designs (vpon what pretence soever grounded) of the evill.

In Mixt Histories (as the Scope whereat they aime) is mixed part with profit, and part with delight, to make the Discourse more compleat: So should the seriousness of the Subject attract a kinde of Majesty to it; for impossible it is, either with trimnesse of words, propriety of aptly-annexed, and duly-applied sentences, or any other elegancy whatsoever, to make a Subject (of it selfe light and frivolous) beare the portray of State: For words (if well applyed) illustrate and adde a beauty, but not any way better the weight of the matter.

There be three things which be especially required

What Subject
best conuents
with mixt Hi-
stories.

Three things
necessarily re-
quir'd in Hi-
stories of this
nature.

quir'd in Histories of this nature, to make them perfect: first Truth, in sincerely relating, without having any thing (as *Tacitus* observeth) *haustum ex vano*, toyled in by our owne invention, to smooth the passage of our story.

Secondly, an Explanation in discovering, not onely the sequels of things, but also the causes and reasons drawing to the conclusions.

Thirdly, Judgement in distinguishing things by approving the best, and disallowing the contrary.

Histories
should be true

For the first, Stories should be true, or at least resemble truth, because by so much, they are more pleasing, by how much they resemble truth the neerer; and so much more gracefull, by how much more probable and lesse doubtfull. We haue many Histories (even of this kind) mixed, that comprehend in them nothing lesse then truth: yet by their smooth carriage, and their proper circumstances with such aptnesse drained and disposed, they haue bene taken for truth, and registred amongst Workes of more serious consequence.

Such were those *Apologie Fabula* (whereof we haue in part spoken before) which contained in them many pittthy and graue sentences, and worthy obseruation in the excellent'st Morall. these are fitly called by *Tully*, *Mirrors of Mans life*, *Patterns of Manners*, and *Images of truth*. Their neere resemblance of truth, made the Reader more attentine, subjecting his care to Discourses probable, more then to things surpassing the bounds

bounds and limits of believe; as producing unheard-of miracles (meere conceptions of the braine) phanaticke Chymeras: A Gyant immured in a Rocke, yet able to pierce it through, winne a whole Monarchy with his owne single hands, leade a multitude of Kings captives, and returne home without a wound. Here strange Inchaunted Castles, Ladies and Knights detained in most base seruitude by an Airy Monster: there admirable victories purchased vpon incredible oddes: and the rather to be believed, because it pleaseth the painter so to delineate their vertues.

These relations, as they proceed for most part from a conceipt, whose wits are long since gone a Wool-gathering; so to any serious judgement they become so meerey ridiculous, as they are hissed at by the peruser, howsoever they seeme to receiue entertainment by the vulgar. For I haue formerly observed, to describe the winning of a Fort, before the approach of a Foe; Or the razing of a Citty, without discovery of any apparant Enemy, perplexeth the vnderstanding: and leaues the Conceipt intangled. An orderly proceeding in argumēt of this nature, deserue best approvement: For the ignorant or want of obseruance of Order distracts the Conceipts, and makes whatsoeuer is read, tedious to the Reader.

In this, *Vitruvius* merits high praise. His writings are faire and formall, He first lieth Siedge; then he proceeds to Occasionall Treat-

Improbabilities
in all Histori-
call passages,
highly con-
demned.

ries: next, he lyes downe the reasons either of accepting or rejecting what is propounded. Not an improbability will he admit of, least it should impair the credit of his History.

In those Warres betwixt old *Astages* and his Grand-child *Cyrus*; wherein much Civill blood was shed, before the Empire of the *Medes* was reduced to a *Persian* State; Such principall Allyes as came on in defence of *Astages*, after their defeat, became engaged to the like hazard. *Astages* did not onely suffer, but those also who came to his succour. He then, that should in any weak historical relation, averre, that the sole ground of *Cyrus* his incursion into *Lydia*, was the desire he had to seize vpon *Crasus* treasure, rather than any proceeding displeasure, should fayle much in the trust of a Relater.

For our ancient Historians describing the first occasionall grounds of all those fatall differences; report, how that *Lydian* King, vpon a long league of amity continued betwixt them, or some other propositions of reward for so necessitated a curt'sie, addressed himselfe with a strong Army for his defence. Yet, by the martiall and experienced power of the *Persians*, who were expert Slingers, and of strong tempers, able to endure any labour; *Cyrus* became victorious; his Enemies, Subjects of his Triumph. Which exploit hee had no sooner achieved, then he turned his Sword vpon such as had bene Assistants to the adverse part. Wherein, as *Crasus* had shewne himselfe most forward,

Not *Crasus* treasure, but a precedent displeasure caused victorious *Cyrus* to invade *Lydia*.

so he was one of the first that he assaulted. Then, and never till then, and for no other was this acted then; came the treasures of that rich Prince to be surprized; his princely Pallace to be ransacked; his sumptuous Wardrobe disroabed: and he himselfe exposed to the extreamest Censure of a commanding Conquerour. Though *Cyrus* Clemency, vpon that serious consideration of humane inconstancy, pardon'd him his life, and made him his Homager in his owne Kingdome.

The like might be instanced in those Civill Warres betwixt *Cesar* and *Pompey*. Though the victorious *Cesar* had got the day, and made himselfe happy in the acquisition of a doubtfull victory; his ambition became not so confin'd; nor his hate so attemper'd; as to stay there. Such, who had vsed their best endeavours in defence of his Enemy, must feele the heavie hand of his Sovereignty. Though some, who were nearely allyed to his discomfited Foe, or held integrious Members of the *Romane* State, were received with a gracefull Countenance: Yea, and advanc'd to vnexpected honours, vpon their submission to his innovated Government.

Great was the delight which that *Vniversall Monarch* of the World conceived in the *Brachmans*: highly likewise was he taken with the answers of those *Indian* Oracles; the strangeness whereof might be got an *Improbability*, were not the Surveyer his owne Relator: but discoursing of every Circumstance that might any way

enliven the Survey of those parts: He expresseth in a modest Majesticke Stile what he had seene or heard: not deriving these from others report, but from his owne personall knowledge.

This may appeare in those discoveries which he so freely communicates in a Letter to *Aristotle* his Master: where, amongst other memorable Sights, he tells him how he had seene those two Trees consecrated to the *Sunne* and *Moone*, with their Oracular discourse to him.

The first Report of the strangeness of these, no doubt, made him retire a little from Martiall affaires; and to take breath a while, that he might more fully Obserue their Occult natures and effects. For at such time, as this Spreading commander came into those parts, the Inhabitants there related to him the incredible power of those Trees in this manner. „ Thou shalt see „ (said they) what King soever thou bee, two „ Trees of the *Sunne* and *Moone*, Speaking both „ the Indian and Greeke tongues; The one „ whereof being a Masculine Oake, is consecra- „ ted to the *Sunne*: The other Feminine, is dedi- „ cated to the *Moone*: and by these shalt thou know what good or evill soever shall befall thee. This said, the *Priest*, to whom, any one that intended to enter that Sacred *Cave*, as they esteem'd it, were to repaire, told him; That if he were freed from the *Use* or *knowledge* of *Women*, he might enter that *holy place*. And sayes *Alexander*, „ I obeyed the man in all things, as was fitting to conforme my selfe to a religious Ob- „ servation

„ servation. Which done, the *Priest*. expected
 „ when the *Sunne* would set. In which atten-
 „ dance, I carried along with mee my three faith-
 „ full friends, *Perdiccas*, *Clitus*, and *Philotas*.

Now in this *Historicall Progression*, you shall
 heare what *Alexander*, by way of consultation
 „ demands of the Oracle. „ I thought in my mind
 „ (saith he) to inquire whether having conque-
 „ red the whole World, I might in *triumph* re-
 „ turne into my Countrey, to my Mother *O-*
lympia and my loving Sisters? Then suddenly in
 the Indian Tongue, and in a small voyce the Tree
 answered: “Invincible in Warre shalt thou be,
 „ *Alexander*; according to thy demand, the Sole
 „ Lord of the whole world, but returne alieue
 „ thou shalt not into thine owne Countrey. So
 „ haue the Destinies Decreed touching thy *life*.

After this, *Alexander* descends to speake of
 the Tree sacred to the *Moone*. Which (saith he)
 at the very first rising of the *Moone* being sum-
 moned by an horne, having received her full
 light, answered in the Greeke tongue after this
 „ sort. *Alexander* (said it) as yet thou hast not
 „ *approched* the full end of thine age, but the next
 „ yeare in the Moneth of *May* thou shalt dye in
 „ *Babylon*. By him shalt thou be deceiv'd, whom
 „ thou least suspected.

After all this (though little be seeming so vi-
 rile a *Spirit*) he speakes of those teares he shed, af-
 ter these Oracular Trees had divined these
 things.

„ Then I wept (saith he) and my friends who
 stood

„ stood about me ; wept with me, without guile
 „ or subtilty , being ready to dye for my safety.
 But little moved these gentle teares, those Gen-
 tile Gods : “ for the *Priest* (saith he) advised us to
 „ depart thence, because (quoth he) you offend
 „ these *Holy Trees* with your weeping and how-
 „ ling

These relations haue we inserted, that it may
 appeare how those things which of themselves
 may otherwise seeme *improbable*, being onely re-
 ported from the mouth of others; receiue suffici-
 ent authority by so princely a Testimony; being
 confirmed by his owne Eyes and Eares, and com-
 mitted to memory for authentick and vndoub-
 ted truth.

Whereas, others there be of a different nature ;
 who make the whole body of their discourse an
 indisposed heape of rubbish, or immateriall mat-
 ter : with a purpose to vend such vnauthoriz'd
 stuffe to delude a weake conceipt ; who usually
 reades what is done , but never deliberately col-
 lects how this may be probably or possibly done.

We read of a people called *Acephaloi*, and these
 haue no heads : and of this cause are all these *im-
 probable* Relaters. Who, as they are *Acephalists*, and
 without a founder : So are they *Apodes*, and with-
 out a Supporter,

These are not much vnlike to indiscreet Actors,
 who no lesse vnreasonably then improperly, make
 choice both at that time and of that place to pre-
 sent their merriments, when and where Tragick
 passages should be personated. Or like our too se-
 cure

cure *Architects*, who contriving how to make their house most for strength, to barre all hope of entrance to their Foes, build on still, but forget to make a doore to giue admittance to their friends.

But of these erroneous stories there be some observe no method, planting an *Arcadie* in *Brittany*. as if by some super-naturall accident there were a transplantatiō of Regions, or some Earth-quake in the Authors braine, whence this immane Colosse of an irregular Discourse proceeded. Which strange representatiōs be not vnlike to your *Lanskip*; where vpon the sea, whatsoever we see by land, seemes in our saile to go with us: Even so do these vain Historians make strange objects vnto us of places impossible, transiting whole Countries to make an impolished straine of pastoral musick (one good Bell-weather would make as perfect harmony) sound well in a Clownes care.

To be short, my opinion positiuely is this: That Historian w^{ch} can joyne profit with a modest delight together in one body or frame of ore vnited discourse, grounding his story vpon an essentiall truth, deserves the first & principall place: and he who (vpon a feined discourse) can proportiō it to a likenesse of truth, merits y^e next. As for him that (like one of Duke *Humphreys* Knights) observes neither meane nor measure, but gorge their owne insatiate appetites with full messes of vntruths (without probability) should be dealt withall, as that wandring *Italian* Squire was vsed, for his monstrous lying: Toft in a Blanket, till his erring spirit by suffumigations, or some such like means, were canvased out of him.

Absurdities in
Historians of
our time.

Great

Great blemishes these beto so reputed a Profession, aiming neither at profite nor most delight, but imitating your Mercenary Actors, spurt out some obscene jest to make a prophane Rogue applaud him: and sure if the strict-dooime and censure of banishment, were to be inflicted vpon any kinde of learning, rather should it be pronounced against such as these then any. The Pagans haue abhorred them, and much more odious should they bee in a Christian Commonwealth, where vertue should be the scope of all our actions.

They are like some Comœdies wee read now a dayes; The first Act whereof is in *Asia*, the next in *Affrica*, the third in *Europa*, the fourth in *America*: and if *Ptolomeus*, or *Marcus Paulus* had found out a fifth part of the world, no question but it had beene represented on their vniuersall Stage: Such as these ought to haue some distinct language, *Utopian*, or some other grunting tongue engrossed to themselves: For they should profite more, by being lesse vnderstood. Much they speake of valour, and many imaginary *Heroes* are pitching their Pavillions; But I will take my leaue of them with my French Proverbe: *Beaucoup de bruit, e peu de fruit*: Much bruite, but little fruite: Buttels more fierce (by report) then *Alcazors*: That was but Kings, their's Giants: and one of those Giants as able to vanquish all thole Kings, as for *Milo* to carry his Bull on his shoulders.

For the second: There should be an explanation

on in discovery of the causes, with a direct and graduall proceeding to the sequels: As thus, in description of a solemn Iust, or Tournament; it is necessary for the Historian to show the cause why such Solemnities were instituted. I doe know many things there be in Discourses, which may be as well implied as inserted; But in Festivals, solemn Games, events of Duello's, or publicke Trials: The causes forcing should and ought to be as well decyphered, as the ends succeeding. How should we haue knowne of the vnitng of the *Sabines* with the *Romanes*, or the occasion of their Marrying together, but by those dissembled Feasts ordaird by *Romulus*, to bring his purpose to effect: The circumstances of which feast (are with a certaine concordancy) amongst most of the *Romane* Writers agreed on; standing (though with too nice precisenesse, I confesse) vpon the place, occasion, and houre of the day, with such a liuely Transcription, as if the *Sabine* Rape had beene committed in their time.

The like we reade of the destruction and vtter subversion of the *Gabians*, in the time of *Tarquin Superbus*: The generall vnion of Historians, about the time, place, and occasion, so concordantly jumping, as if all those proceedings (as well in the Stratagemis by *Tarquins* youngest Sonne, as the very Contents of that Letter writ by the Father to his Sonne, for the management of this exploit) had bene set downe by one penne.

The like harmony of Historians in their Relations,

Explanation
in discovery of
causes.

Old. Tract. intitled, the
Gabian Overthrow.

A concord in
circumstances
amongst Histo-
rians.

The harmony
of Historians
in their Rela-
tions; though
writ in severall
ages.

tions, though writ in severall ages; may be gathered from the *Annals* both of antient and our more moderne Authors.

Those long continued Warres betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, with what agreement and concordancy even in every Circumstance, are they delivered? No Land-exploit but expressed to life as it was acted; and so fully presented, as Succeeding times received them for infallible Records.

That tenne yeares Siege of *Troy*; where so many designs were attempted; so many bloody Stratagems devised; where strength and policy equally contended: while nothing was unassayed, whereby so deepe a blemish or staine of dishonour done to a warlike Nation might be revenged: what joynt union or harmony holds it amongst most Authors, who have enlarged themselves upon that Subject?

This might be instanced in *Dares Phrygius* himselfe; one personally imployed in that Service, and writ afterwards whatsoever had hapned during that heavie fatall Siege.

Nor was it held sufficient to these, onely to describe the fearefull Events of those calamitous Warres; but the Grounds and Origenes of them. How their first hate begun; how increased; and by what Offices made implacable. Heere is *Paris* portrayed; how he became enamoured; how in his wanton suite entertained; how after *Helens* consent to a licentious assault, her conveyance is practised; the voyage accommodated; and the
very

very Ship, wherein these two lustfull Lovers were imbarked, described. Where you shall find *Phereclus*, that curious Carpenter of *Troy*, preparing that fatall Ship, wherein *Helen* was stolne away by *Paris*.

Then, you shall heare what entertainment old *Priam* giues to these two youthfull Saylers after their arrivall. What Feasts are solemnized; what Sumptuous Triumphs prepared; and to what a wofull Catastrophe all these goodly Solemnities are converted. Then, what Embassies are sent (before ever Warre was proclaimed) to re-demand *Helen*. Their peremptory answer to so just a demand.

Then, those fearefull predictions of *Troyes* destruction. Yet behold the inevitable Fate of a declining State!

Neither could the justnesse of their request; nor those Ominous fore-runners of their irreparable fall, divert them from an vnexpected ruine. Vnexpected indeed, for glorying in their owne strength, and inclining to the importunacy of a Lascivious youth; they denied to restore a light commodity, to saue their State from an ensuing misery.

Yet in these, shall you find the Citty divided in opinion. Some held it fitting to restore, what they in Iustice did require. Others, and those of the inconsideratest ranke, side with *Paris*: perswading him to enjoy his stolne Fruite: to keepe her in despite of *Greece*:

and to triumph in such a booty, as surpassed nature in attractive beauty.

Then, their recourse to the Oracle; the answers they received: Yet must *Helen* be still detained; that lust may be revenged: and a perishing beauty with the losse of a perishing City, vnwillingly restored.

All these are with so harmonious a consent seconded, as if they had writ in one time; or one had dictated to another, whatsoever in that Theatre of sorrow had bene Acted:

The like in that Combat, or bloody Banquet, rather, of *Thomyris* her eldest sonne, and the *Persian Cyrus*, with such natiue descriptions of every circumstance; the River *Araxis*, the place of their passage, the reasons which moved *Thomyris* to suffer their passage, and the very plot where their Tents were pitcht, their dainty viands left for the *Scythian* surfet, in what sort prepared, and how insatiably desired by the *Scythian* Army, comming rather to feast then to fight: And then their defeate, being there vanquished, where they were most confident of victory.

In these explanations, the Reader should not be delayed, or frustrated too much in his hopes, by vnnecessary ambages: We should not trifle out the time in vaine and impertinent repetitions, it cloies and satiates the appetite too much: not vnlike to your great feasts, reserving the choiest dainties for the end, when the appetites of the Guests are satisfied before they come. It is a good frugall course, and includes an Oeconomicke

micke pollicy, their best dishes may be preserved for another time. He that discovers events and sequels without their preecedent causes, is as one that would draw a River dry, without knowing whence the Spring is derived: applying the conclusions of things, as it pleased the *Ethnickes* in ancient time, to referre them to the arbitrement of Fortune; making ever this womanish argument: *The event was so, because it was so; and it was so, because Fate would have it so*: answering *Titus* opinion, *Potesates fato dari*. But these which thus apply the course of all conclusions to Fortune, be as blind as Fortune: Nay, farre more; for though Fortune be blind, yet she is not invisible: But these men are not onely blind in the eye of common sence, but invisible in the composure of their owne Arguments; their Conclusions being as blind as themselves.

In making likewise our judgement of Histories, and considerately applying it to our present interests, we must specially regard the dispositions of the Agents, and diligently remarke how they are affected in mind; this is the least deceiving ground of forming opinion. By the nature of the Agent, conjecturall events or reasons of events may be drawne: As if an ambitious man be employed in Embassage twixt Prince and Prince, he is to be suspected that his Treaty will be lesse happy, in that his illimited passions oft-times, rather aggravate then allay causes of civill discord. Men of moderate dispositions, purchase peace with lesse adoe, & more successfull;

Fortune is blind, how much more blind is he that will be tane by one that cannot see.

full; For Princes (ballancing their owne wrongs, to their apprehension insupportable) cannot endure braving, but will rather try the extreamest of Fortune, then be vnworthy of themselves, by hearing and bearing affronts with patience.

The like we haue observed in the successe of Warre; a wise and experienc't Leader, to haue accomplished great matters with a handfull of men; and that Aphorisme to be very true: *Better is an Army of Harts, with a Lyon to their Leader, then an Army of Lyons, having an Hart to their Leader*: And contrariwise, the vnhappy events of most flourishing Empires, the miserable slaughters of most puissant Armies, by the vnadvised government of their Agents, or tyranny of their Regents, whose improvidence made much people vnfortunate: To see *Hanniball* once a Conquerour, because his hopes were not seated on in direct meanes; and afterwards by his owne truculent disposition, to become a prey to the conquered, makes this Assertion good.

No doubt, but the indiscretion of Commanders, becomes the vtter subversion of their designs. Where, we shall finde some more apt for command, then to be commanded; Others fitter to be commanded, then command. There may be alledged diuers reasons for this. Such, whose vnbounded Spirits are ever taken with high exploits, many times more boldly then wisely, will not stick to expose their persons to all perils; so they may haue the honour of the day; and beget a
reverence

The event gathered by foregoing causes.

Tacti esse exercitum quarti imperatorem. Luc 1. Ion. 2. lib.



The indiscretion of Commanders, the vtter subversion of their designs.

reverence in their Souldiers. Such as these, as I conceive, are fitter to receive command from another, then to be Commanders of others. For a discreet Commander (as I have formerly observed) is not to ingage his person in too desperate attempts.

That commanding Regent of the World, was sometimes highly censured for this: when in scaling of a Citty, hee would be so venterously bold as to mount first the Walls; but rather to have the passage prepared, before he ascended.

Besides all this, divers Commanders there have beene, who eying their owne power, and transported with their successe; from Commanders of an Army, have struck at a *Monarchy*. *Sylla's* perpetuall Dictatorship implied no lesse ambition: nor *Sertorius* his keeping himselfe aloofe from the State, lesse aspiring. High Spirits, puffed vp with the glory of their victories, are for most part so inclined. Those eyes, wherein they stand ingaged to their Prince and Countrey, are sleighted; the basenesse of ingratitude they have no mind to thinke on. Ever are they expostulating with themselves, what it is to be seized of an absolute Sovereignty, to be subj. & to none; to command all; to have their Will their Law. To infranchise friends; confine Foes; To bestow a new face on the State. These are the flourishes, which so delude them, as neither the obedience they owe the State, nor the safety of their owne persons may prevaile
with

with them: Such as these, are vnhappy agents for themselves: for howsoever they seeme to gather head, and with factious Male-contents to fuel their vnprosperous strength; they ever come home rewarded according to their deserts. Faire pretences, as vindicating either publique or private wrongs, freeing the oppressed State from exactions, easing the injured, and punishing the insolent, receiue at first an easie impression; but no sooner shall their Complies observe the indirectnesse of their ends, then they fall from them, least by cleaving too long to them, their greatnesse faile them.

These shewes pretended that haire-brain'd *Catiline*; who the better to bring them on, whom he sought to joyne to him, by dividing them from the State, and ranking them with his owne; tills them on with faire promises of *New Tables, proscriptions of the rich, magistracies, priest hoods, rapines, and rich booties, with all other things, that either Warre or the will of a Conquerour may any way tender.* Braue offers, if they were his to giue; but how soone did that Sunne which so fairely seem'd to shine, set in a Cloud to his shame?

There is another Error too incident to a Commander; and that is in making himselfe too familiar with his *Souldier*. The *Iewes*, during *Vitus* his abode in *Iudea*, in persisting that designe which his father had begun, held that *Princes* mildnesse to be both fulnesse; his clemency, a remisse security. Whereas hee, out of his princely humanity, pittie their present misery. But
this

Salust in Con-
iur. Catilin.

Clementian
Imperatoris
aduersus
Iudeos

this conceipt they retayned of *Titus*, (as may bee probably gathered) by reason of the *familiaritie* hee used to his Souldiers. Truth is, *Affabilitie* begets in Commanders a *Reverence*, but *Familiaritie Contempt*: for an affable compassion leaves many times a deeper impression in a Souldiers heart, then any other booty or benefit.

Alexander, when hee had his Head-piece of water ministred unto him, would not drinke himselfe, but offered it to his Souldiers; which could not chuse but worke a strange effect in them; when thirst (held the extreamest Suffering in Nature) could not so annoy him, but that the affection hee bare to his Souldiers wrought such compassionate Effects in him, as he neglected himselfe to refresh them.

Cowardise likewise in a Commander clips his wings, that hee can never mount to a Conquerour. There is ever (saith sententious *Salust*) most danger accompanying his fight, whose heart is most surpriz'd with feare. Whereas, Courage is a Countermure against all Assailants. Neither *Place* nor *Friend* can afford a *Shrowd*, where *Armes* cannot present a *Shield*.

Lastly (to runne over all these cursorily) that pernicious baine to all humane brood, filthy *Avarice*, many times no lesse prejudiceth the Regiment hee commands, then it ruines himselfe, and brings a shametull Defeate to

The rare impression of a compassionate disposition.

Semper in praelio maximum est periculum, qui maximè times. Audacia pro muto habetur. Neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem Arma non texerint. Salust. in Conjur. Cat.

his Designs : This felt *Manius Acilius* from the hand of *Mithridates*; when by receiving Bribes, hee lay a dishonour on his Countrey, death to himselfe, and to his dying Name a living Infamy.

Many Examples wee have of the like, where the nature of the Agent ill affected, crossed not onely the successe of hopefull designs, but buried their Names in oblivion; of such I speake, as have beene interested in the like adventures.

As sometimes where the Agents have beene neglectfull of Religion; depending more upon their owne proper resolutions, then the power of Heaven directing all humane affaires to their appointed ends : As wee may reade in that memorable disaster of the *ROMANS* at *Canna*, where the Consull *Varro*, with a populous Army of experienc'd Souldiers, was utterly discomfited; and that (as the *ROMANE* Historians have observed) because of *Juno*s wrath conceived against *Varro*, for erecting (in derision of *Jupiters* Temple) a Mimick-boy to keepe watch, as the solemne order was.

The like of *Positius*, detracting from the honour of *Hercules* : The like revenge inflicted on *Virilius* by *Escalapius* : By *Juno Lacinian*, on *Q. Fulv* : By *Proserpine*, on *Plenimius* : By *Jupiter*, on that sacriligious Tyrant *Dionysius* : On *Alexander*, by *Ceres* : But wisely prevented with the presenting of a golden Goblet to *Apollo*, by the Pirate-Prince *Thymasthius*.

Some-

Contempt of Religion, the cause of Realms subversion.

This even the very Heathens haue observed.

Quia aurcom crateram Delphos perferendam curasset. Valer. Max. Mianthus in Ostatio.

Sometimes by the libidinous disposition of the Governour, other sometimes by his Avarice: now and then by his Impatience, and most of all by his recklesnesse, have the sequels of things proved lesse fortunate, because the precedent motives, or instruments directing to the end, had no better likelyhoods in them.

Wee wonder not at all, to see troubled water come from an uncleere Spring: Nor at tares growing in the sluggards field; but wee admire successive ends, drawne from improbable causes. Many times there bee (I confesse) intrinsicall motives, which like, as that Beauty is the best which cannot bee expressed by the Painter, so arrogates it the chiefest place (that inwardly moving cause, I meane) because, the efficient cause of causes, more sure, more infallible, then the evidentest demonstration: And I have (for my part) ever superstitiously feared to bring such causes in Question: since such Arguments have ministred no small occasion to the prophaner wits, both of Ancient and Moderne times, to boulder their insufficient opinions: As to argue thus: Heere we see a flourishing Common-weale, supporting her selfe by no other meanes then Iustice; reaching to as high a perfection in every degree, of as exact Government, as the blindness of the time would permit: Yet this State (so flourishing) layd wast by a people exposed to all Impieties: Heere the end can hardly bee collected by the fore-going Cause. Equity was in

Such things as
bee about us,
be not to bee
argued of us.

the conquered, Tyrannie in the Conquerour: Here is a maine discrepancy in the beginning, & conclusion; and the active causes ordinarily moving seeme (*Cardine Verso*) to oppose themselves. It is true; But tell me (whosoever thou art) that *Lucian*-like composest this Argument: Is hee that sets, and confounds, what Empires as best pleaseth him, tyed to meanes, or secondary causes? There is no Realme which for some abuse or other, hath not deserved to loose her glory; and herein doth the Majestick power of Heaven shew abundant mercy, to some Kingdomes in chastising them before they come to the height of siane, that there eclypse of glory, might bee an increase unto them of vertue; their ebbe of Honour, an occasion of acknowledgement of their Creator.

For even in the best Common-weales, wee reade, that the experiment of some externall misery or disaster, hath reduced them to more ripe consideration of themselves, and an exact search in themselves, discussing the causes of the Gods indignation against them. Present extremities are of that force to Humane bodies, that the present apprehension of their woe, seemes in some sort to extenuate their pride, inflameth Religion, exciteth men to undertake a labour for the benefit of their Countrey (with the losse of themselves) to appease the wrath of the Gods. This was the cause why the Ro-

mans

Kingdomes
brought to ac-
knowledge-
ment by the
calle of misfe-
ries.

mans used to have the gate of the Temple *Ianus* open in Warre, but shut in Peace: For Necessity (as well in these times as in Pagan times) useth to be the motiue of devotion.

To inlarge which point, we may safely avouch, because it agrees with the doctrine of the time; that *Sanctuaries* are never well frequented, but when danger approacheth. Calme Seas beget in the *Mariner* quiet sleepes, stiffe knees, deepe healths. The *Husbandman* flies to devotion in a drought; that he may receiue Showers: Againe, after too much raine hee prays for drought. But where's his Oblation, after he h'as received the benefit of his petition? Hee feedes on the *Acorne*, but never lookes to that *Trees* from whence it falls.

In a great Plague or Mortality, what diuine Lectures, devout Prayers, religious Fasts are every where commanded, and with what seemely obedience observed? But when the raine is past, the plague ceas't, God appeas't; we close the Blessing with a prayer or two of Thanksgiving, and then returne to our former course of Living.

Sanctuaries are not to be so frequented; we are not onely to offer up our prayers in the time of danger, that we may be delivered; but continue our Thanksgivings after our delivery, that we may be hereafter preserved.

Fear will supple the most insensible *Atheist*, and enforce him to prayer. If *Festus* heare but

Sanctuaries never well frequented, but when dangers approached.

Fear will sup-
ple the most
infectible A-
theist, and en-
force him to
prayer.

of judgement ; he will tremble ; if *Callgula* hear but the noise of Thunder, he will shudder : Or creepe under his bed (poore impetifall dust) to finde a shelter.

Wherein are we better, if onely feare of Gods judgements force us to prayer ?

When Delinquents are had in pursuit, they flye (if opportunity be offered them) to the Temple; not to pray, but lest they should become a prey to their pursuers : So it fares with most of us, when these *Pursuants* of The *Great Kings* (I meane his Iudgements) follow us at the heeles ; how gladly would we haue the *Temple* open to receiue us ; to auido those judgements that pursue us ? But that Delinquent is never truly penitent, who takes Sanctuarie onely for feare of punishment.

The Antients had their *Asyla* ; their places of refuge to flye to in their distresse. Sanctuaries (as they styled them) these had ; while one flies to *Navos*, another to *Lemnos*, this to *Paphos*, that to *Lesbos*. And high impiety was it held to hale any with violent hand from those Sacred places. Though these Sanctuaries by the policy of after-times, were held fitting to be suppressed, that the abuse of those immunities might be removed. Now to requite their Gods for their supposed delivery ; there was no *Temple* to which they retired, but they off. red some Present or other to that God, where-

whereto that *Temple* was dedicated. Nay, the very high-way-man, who made *Pillage* his vocation, *Rapine* his calling, would not be behind with his Offering. *Laverna* must haue his Sacrifice; hoping, if his actions should come to the test, that those thankfull Presents would not be forgotten, but render him succour in the time of danger.

These may seeme to out-strip us, though in diuine knowledge Sphear'd below us. These prayed and offered before they needed; Wee never till then when danger is visibly imminent. Bee it our constant resolve, when the doores of our materiall Temples are shut, to haue the doores of our Spirituall Temples open. Bee it our highest prize to offer up unto him the Sacrifice of a contrite heart, and distreaming Eyes; To whom both before and after our delivery, is to be ascribed all praise.

Explanation of Causes, is an elucidary or exemplifying, as it were, of the matter whereon we entreate: *Happy* (saith the Poet) is hee, that hath knowne, or doth know, the principall causes of things, as well preecedent as subsequent: Events may be knowne (I confesse) without their causes, but so defective is that knowledge, as the Countrey Shep. hears prediction is of weather: His obseruances are Causelesse, because Artlesse; judging of the Cloud (by vsuall approbation) & making experiment his ground, without recourse had

Laverna atrium Latronum prospexit in antrum.

Causes directories of events.

to Naturall causes : To shew the destruction of *Troy* by *Alcydes*, without explaining the perfidious dealing of *Laomedon* : or of *Troyes* second subversion, without the rape of *Hel-len* : or of *Romes* translated Aristocracy, without relation made of those civill Warres, planting *Casar* in his Monarchy ; or of that ample and potent Empire of *Media* translated to the *Persians*, without the preecedent causes arising from the glory, and eternall renowne, of *Cyrus* ; would make a confused History, as if the former Chaos were reduced to her first indigestion : Causes are the Springs of Events.

If we should reade the divers effects of glory, the sundry moving causes of perpetuall honour, amongst the *Romanes*, we would admire them : Some having raised themselves to an exceeding eminent pitch of greatnesse, and that by as vnaccustomed meanes, *Selfe-affiance*, or *Confidence of their owne valour*, instanced in *One Scipio*: publicly proclaiming: That, *Nothing was more generous then this Confidence, more infallible then Prediction, more powerfull then celerity in dispatch, or more eminent then the dignity of the Person* : The like of *Scipio Aemilianus*, *Scipio Nasica*, *Furius Phylus*, *Luc. Crassus*, *M. Scaurus*. And many others, whose greatest fame was purchased by that meanes, which useth to be the greatest errour in humane society ; *Selfe-conceit of a mans owne deser-*

A disposition, yet not limited, an order yet not coacted, in meanes yet not enforced: *Qui enim (si voluit) omnia sine medijs creare potuit, ea etiam sine Medijs (si voluit) servare potuit.*

Many Kingdomes much renowned, by that meanes, which makes them most debased: *Selfe-coarceit.*

deservings: Which, likewise, hath beene ruine to many populous and most puissant Empires. Then to divert our eye to an opposite of Conceit, and that is Modesty, or a silent shadowing of their owne demerits: Excellent and memorable Examples whereof may bee produced out of *Valerius Maximus* in his 4th Booke, entreating of Modesty: Where hee observes (by way of explanation) the meriting parts of many, whose resolutions shadowed, made the lustre of their Countrey more eminent. These were such, who cared little for divulging their owne fame, so they might by their Actions gaine their countrey renowne.

Likewise to describe, the strange, and unexpected rising of some, *Qui posteris facere Nobilitatis initium, virtutis exemplum*: Borne of nothing; yet by some private endowments, either of insinuating, as the ignoble wits: or of State-observing, as those elated Natures, grieved (as it were) with the obscurity of their Birth, in seeing others lesse (it may bee) meritorious, ascend the Throne of highest honours; possesse the eminentest places; in contempt and despite of Fortune, and humbleness of Birth, crowde in the presse of the Honoured, if but for enobling their Countrey by their peculiar deserts. This was objected against *Cicero*, which he as sufficiently answered: *Satius est me meis rebus gestis florere, quam majorum opinioni niti*. Dependence of Ancestors conterre small or no glory to us, if our

Honour the best, when it is derived from our selves.

succeeding worth shew not a correspondency
 to our Predecessours glory. *Tullus Hostilius*,
Tarquinius Priscus, *Tullius Servius*, *Perpenna*,
 and *Terentius Varro*, and that mirror of
 Countries loue, *M. Portius Cato*: Their Births
 ignoble, yet they made their Cradles noble
 by their many deserving parts; Characters
 of proper Nobility, not derived from their
 fathers greatnesse, but from their owne emi-
 nence. Nor haue there wanted others who
 degenerated from their Ancestors well-deser-
 ued Liues: *Scipio African*, his Countreyes hon-
 our, leaues a *Scipio* the Monument of his owne
 dishonour: *Fabius Maximus*, a Sonne, for
 worthlesse respect, deserving the name of *Fa-
 bius Minimus*: *Claudius Pulcher* beautified with
 ornaments of mind, as well as body, makes
 his Countrey no lesse hopelesse by his birth,
 then renowned by himselfe. The like of *Hor-
 tensius* his Nephew, one least equalling so
 many deserved parts of his thrice glorious
 Ancestour: The one a professed prostitute to
 all licentious places; an arch-protector of
 Sensuality, having no other Clients, but no-
 ted Strumpets: The other a supporter of
 Equity, a resister of indirect proceedings, a
 mirror of continence in his time; and one,
 second to none, saue *Cicero*; in promptnesse of
 Speech, and a present modestly-composed Elo-
 quence. The like of *Choranius* a Roman Pretor,
 one of confirmed gravity and approved conver-
 sation; yet left he a Sonne exposed to a prodi-
 gall

Degeneration.

gall course, and of an unnaturall disposition.

For Excellencies in this kinde, as many, no question, have beene by the injurie of time obscured, whose Names deserved much honour: So some haue bene so highly beholden to the Commendation of time, as they received as much honour to the full, as they deserved. For it were a rare and unexemplary Age, to finde all mens demerits equally ballanced.

Some have found fame breathing from those Actions, which never exprest worth: whilest others, from exploits of higher worth, never received fame.

But to descend to the *praise* of such who raise a Family by their owne demerits: The Ground of this advancement ariseth generally frō these three degrees: The *Gowne*, the *Sword*, or some *Mechanick Art*. For the first, because that *Prince of Oratory* giues it *priority*, wee will speake of *Gowne*: And of such, as haue raised their Houses from nothing, by excelling in Elegancy of Speech, manning of judiciall Causes, and steering State-affaires; being held fit for their knowne abilities to be employed that way.

Of this sort, amongst the *Athenians* we finde *Demosthenes*, *Aeschines*, *Isocrates* and *Lysias*.

Amongst the *Romans*, *Carbo*, *Latius*, *Scipio Africanus*, *Galba*, *Servius*, *Sulpitius*, *Cotta*, *Gracchus*, *M. Antonius*, *Craesus*, *Cicero*, *Salustius*.

Amongst which there was ever some private Emulation: For Fame can endure no Corrivals. So as, their very publique plea-

The praise of such, who raise a Family by their owne demerits.

M. Cicero.
GOWNE.

Emulation amongst men of note.

dings were not freed from their Chidings. *Demosthenes* a plausible and powerfull Orator, having beene twitted and bitterly reprov'd by *Aeschines* for delivering in his Orations certaine unusuall words, answered him; *The fortunes of Greece depended not upon them.* One taxed another of *Effeminacy*; an other, his Opposite of too much *Singularity*; The third, his Corrivall of *Popularity*. Immoderate was the hate, unextinguishible the heate betwixt *Cicero* and *Salust*: So as, he one could not come into the presence of the other without passion. For as they were unequall in their *descents*, so were they equally addrest to entertaine all occasions of *disfast*.

Whence we may conclude, that Wits bearing one levell, doe seldome agree in the maine building. So as, that may serue for a *Maxim*, what the merry Critick sometimes spake in jeast: „ A *Cat* with a *Mouse*, Two *Cocks* together in one house, and two *Sister-inlawes* together dwelling, can never liue without „ *dissention*. No more, two *Eminent wits* in one *place*; but they must shew their *Spirits* either vpon the *By* or *Maine*. But to our former proposition; if we shall but peruse the *Lives* of many of those eminent *Orators*, *Athenian* & *Roman* *pleaders*; wee shall find their *beginnings* obscure, their *Meanes* of rising small; and for their outward parts weakely promising: yet, by their inward abilities they became a glory to their *Countrey*; a renowne

sive presentii
ejus timens,
seu irā commo-
tus.

to themselves and their surviving posterity. This it was, that made *Aristotle*, that honour of *Stagyra*, so gracefull in the sight of *Alexander*: who, as he had *Homer* in all reverence for his heroicall Compositions; So had he this *Stagyrian* for *Philosophicall* Speculation. This it was, that made *Socrates* so deare to *Alcibiades*. This it was, that made the workes of *Zenophon* so familiar to *African*. *Athenodorus* his Annals to *Octavian*. *Iosephus* his incomparable Relations to *Constantine*.

But to adde one attribute more to the glory of those famous *Orators* before expressed: their strength and deserving height of Spirit merited no lesse approvement; when, in their Opposition to the greatest Enemies of State, they stood constant for the liberty of their Countrey, and suppressing all such (were they never so powerfull) as fished in *troubled Waters*, or inclined to mutiny. So ready were their Tongues to defend by pleading; So stout were their Spirits to repress *Com-motion*: that as they delivered their minds by the one, So they were resolved to Sacrifice their Lives, to manifest to the World that they were not defective in the other. In these times pleaded *Merit* in the Court of Justice. Corruption was a stranger to the hand or heart of a Counsellour. Hee would not be scene in a Cause that would not beare weight; Nor in-

Some of these, though they were not *Coe-taneans* with these Princes, in living with them: yet were their workes, after their de-cease, highly endeared and honoured by them.

An Exemplary
Lesson for all
Ambi-dexters.

teresse himselfe in ought that might not conduce to the benefit of the State. Their just designs aymed neither at publique fame, nor private safety; directing the whole bent of their Councils to the improvement and security of their Countrey.

In that *Epitome* of *L. Florus* collected from *Titus Livius*, we shall reade what native Enmity was ever conceived against such as corrupted justice; by people of all qualities: and this we shall find exemplif'd in an Act of a Tragickall nature.

Bloody (sayes the *Epitomizer* of that noble History) was the slaughter which was made by the *Germans* upon their revolt from the *Roman Empire*, through the shady Woods and plashy marshes; nothing more intolerable then the insultings of the *Barbarous* , specially against the pleaders at the Barre, plucking out the eyes of some, and lopping off the hands of other some; One had his mouth stitche up, after his tongue was first cut out, which the *Savage Actor* grasping in his hand, sayd to it: *Thou viper, at last give over hissing.* So did *M. Antonies* wife use *Tullies* tongue after his death, for pleading so boldly, and inveying so freely against her Husband in his life.

But these cruelties may be properly referred to the Savage disposition of an insulting people: Which, having got an usurped Authority into their owne hand, runne in a licentious liberty, to commit all *Barbarisme* : punishing the Offender, before they ever examined the quality of his offence.

But

But to discourse of the Civill government of the *Romans*, during their *Democracy*, as they were then Commanders of all neighbouring Nations: So they delighted in nothing more then advancing such, who employed their tongues or pens in defence of the publique liberty: bestowing not onely Titles on them, well suiting their demerits; but preferments too, to recompence their Service. This might be instanced in the Eminentst families that flourished amongst them in those times. For so thankfull was that victorious State to deserving men, as they held it not sufficient to bestow on them gracefull trophies & triumphs to honour them, living: but to erect Monuments in their *Statuaries* and *Pulvinars*, to their memory, dying.

The like honour conferred the *Athenians* upon their Consuls, Orators and Philosophers.

So the *Ephori* among the *Spartans* (being the same that the *Tribunes* were among the *Romans*) were elected not in respect of their descent but of their desert: which made a flourishing State; seeing, there was none, were he never so ignoble by birth, but he received grace, if his inward abilities deserved such respect.

Nor were these meanes of advancement onely conferred on the *Gowne*; The *Martialist* had his place as well as the *Mercenrist*. Were hee never so meane a *Plebeian*, if hee deserved honour; he was sure to haue it. If hee

SWORD.

he were the first that mounted the *Wall*, he had a *Coronet* reserved for him. Were he the first that presented himselfe in the *Siege*; or in a single *Combat* di armed, and so surprized any *Enemy*; or enter'd first the *Enemies Tent*; or in any *Sea-fight* enter'd his *Ship*; hee was sure to receive his *Guerdon*. And if the honour of his *Actions* deserved any such eminent reward, hee was to come home in *Triumph*, for the reputation he had done unto his *Country*. Where it was usual for those *Persons* who were most eminent in the eye of the *State* to meet him in the way, and in all solemn and triumphant manner to conduct him to the *City*, with an ample relation of his fame, to beget a glorious envy or emulation in his posterity.

Many of meanest ranke, by the noblenesse of their *Spirits* attained this honour. The *State* made no inquiry after their descents. Those they held worthiest of honour, who acquired it by *Learning* or *Valour*.

Memorable is the resolution of those *Mysian* Captaines, who stepping out before the *Roman* Armie, pray'd silence, and said; *Who are yee?* Answer was made; *Wee are Lords of the World.* They replide; *Yee may well say so, if you Conquer us.* What rewards were bestowed on these for their approved *Valour*, we reade not in the *History*; but no doubt such deserving *Spirits* could not in a *Civill* State live ungratified, nor dye unrecorded.

Hence

Hence it was, that *Hiero* that stout *Syracusan*, would have dy'd in the ashes of his Country: so well deserved he of it; it so well of him. Death was accounted a light suffering, to improve her her honour, from whom they had their being. They conceited of what weake Supporters, poore man stood; his breath, how soone vading; his glory, how soone declining: The whole Fabricke of his Fortunes, how soone shaking and shrinking. But Fame gain'd by glorious actions, they found to bee of more perpetuity. Nor could they esteeme any action more truely deserving, than that which requited her love, from whom themselves and predecessors had received life. Yea, they considered what advancement they had received from an obscure Family; how should they then doe lesse than embarke themselves for all extreames, to requite the love of so endeared a Countrey?

Lastly, many Families have raised their beginnings from *Mechanick* Arts, Sciences, and Mysteries. This may be quickly gathered by the names of some Romans aswel as other Nations; who reteine to this day their appellations from their former Manuall professions. As the Family of the *Pictors*, from Painters; of the *Pistors*, from Bakers; of the *Figuli*, from Potters: with many others. And these in continuance of time, came to be eminent Families; drowning their first beginnings in the depth of their greatnesse.

Yet in all those *Liberall*, with these *Mechani-*

call Sciences; as there were thriving dispositions to advance Families forth of dust; So there were others, who even to dust reduced their advanced Families. Some apt to improve themselves forth of nothing; others no lesse ready to bring their Fathers improvements to nothing.

In the inscriptions of their Natures we include the causes of their ends; vertue being (as we said before) ever seconded with event answerable to her intent, either in the beginning, middle, or end. And certainly, whosoever should but read the desolations of the mightiest Empires, or their rising, shall see some appearance of causes proceeding from their government, occasions of their glory, or ruine. Nor can we (without cause) admire the erection and establishing of the *Turkish* Empire, her many dilated Provinces, extended Confines; and almost Sovereaign command in the Easterne parts. Let us but consider their politick government; subjecting all Lawes of Conscience, or Religion, to the furthering of their delignes; planting their seat (maugre the fury of all opponents) in those floury and spacious territories, where once the sanctified feete of the sacred Apostles used to tread. Yet in their policies (because nor proportionate to vertue) shall they bee subverted. They have erected themselves to an exceeding height, (with the Gyants menacing the fabricke of heaven;) but their fall will be more miserable, by how much they be of miseries more incapable.

The wonderfull establishing of the *Turkish* Empire.

pable. For that Kingdome which is not established in peace, shall be ruined by warre; and where vertue had not her predominance, there shall the illimited rage of vice take her residence: and where shee is an inhabitant, there is imminent desolation menaced. To make explanation of causes in this, were needlesse, because the Seate of such a government is the occasion of her fall; For ruine and extirpation have ever followed Impious Governours at the heeles. Yet in making use of this especiall Branch of History: *Explanation of the discovery of causes*, I will limit and restraine it to an asertaine bound. We must not search causes above their Natures; there be many hidden and concealed reasons, which to enquire after were unlawfull; much lesse to wade into the secret conventions of that sacred Power, from whom all visible and apparant causes borrow their light.

What we may gather by authentick relation, or probable imagination, may without prejudice, or error, be produced. As for supernaturall causes, the more we found them, the more we found into the shallownesse of our owne judgements; never further from apprehending them, than when we seeme to apprehend them.

This inscrutable depth He well observed, who being demaunded *what God was*, required some time to resolve that question. And still the longer he thought of it, the farther he was from it. So as, in the end he assoiled this demaund with a

Arguments of the approaching Subversion of the Turkish State.

Concealed reasons not to be searched.

☞ We are not to pry too curiously into the sealed Cabinet of Gods Counsell.

new question. "Friend, you have imposed me
 "a rask, and I have studied how to resolve it:
 "And my desire is to injoyne you an other, I
 "pray you assoile it. What is it, sayd he? how
 "long would it be ere you should draine the O-
 "cean dry with a Sive? Why? never, (sayd he.)
 "Nor shall I ever (replied he) returne an answer
 "to your question, I demanded of you some
 "time, but an Eternity of time will never resolve
 "it: being farther off at this time, then when I
 "first required time.

Our usefullst and best knowledge in these Di-
 vine Secrecies, consists in the acknowledgment
 of our owne weaknesse. We have many of our
 Artists some-thing too familiar with these pri-
 vacies: prying too curiously into the Sealed Ca-
 binet of Gods Councell. Sublunary things are
 too low Objects for their knowledge. They must
 thine in an higher Spheare.

These can positively speake (as if inspired with
 some extraordinary illumination) when the
 World shall be dissolved. Nor ground they their
 assertions on conjectures (if you may beleve
 them) all is apparent to them, as if they were pre-
 sented in a *perspective glasse*.

Geometricians and Astrologers affirme, as
 those who have measured *Hell*, *Earth*, and *Hea-
 ven* with their Dimensions, Proportions, Poizes,
 and Astrolabes, that *Hell* containes in Compasse
 seven thousand, eight hundred and sixty five
 thousand Miles: In depth or Latitude, two thou-
 sand, five hundred and five Miles: In distance
 from

Apud Poetas
 Deorum Pha-
 retre Opercu-
 lum habuere,
 humanis non
 item. G. H. in
 Orat.

That Sacred-
 Secret Con-
 fistory is not
 to be searched
 (because sea-
 led) with too
 much curiosi-
 ty.

from us, three thousand, six hundred and fifty eight miles. But the *World*, which we inhabit, that is, the whole Earth, they say it contains in greatnesse thirty thousand, and a thousand five hundred Miles: and in Latitude or profundity, that is, from the *Antipodes* unto us, ten thousand and twenty two Miles. Then, that the *Em-pyrean Heaven*, which is the place of the Blessed, they say it contains in compasse (*ô immensity!*) ten thousand, three hundred and fouretecn Millions, eighty five thousand, and six hundred ten miles: in depth or latitude, three thousand six hundred Millions of Miles. And betwixt us and this Heaven, in distance one thousand six hundred ninety Millions, nine hundred twenty five thousand, and five hundred Miles.

But this may be supposed far above the compasse of their *Jacobs-staffe*. Their eyes, I conceive, to be too weake to pierce into the Mansions of Heaven.

Lower Dimensions are fitter for the strait circumference of their understanding.

The way to measure Heaven, is to decline from Earth; and to elevate our thoughts to that Celestiall Spheare, where we may gloriously shine and Eternally rest.

He is the best Astrologer, who converseth more with Heaven in Spirituall affections, then instrumentall dimensions: who becomes more familiar with Heaven, by his elevation of piercing thoughts, then prying eyes. This that learned *Euclid* well observed, when being asked a fau-cy question touching the Divine Presence, by too

*Non est famili-
arius homini-
bus cum Cælis.
Plin.*

curious or inquisitive a Questionist, modestly answered: "For other things I know but little, but
 "much I know, that the Gods hate those that are
 "curious.

Aug.

This that Divine Father (the glory of the Eastern Church) with much spirituall zeale expressed, when being on a time asked, "What God
 "did before he made the world, answered him
 home: "He was preparing Hell for such as Hee,
 "who too curiously pried into his Secrets.

The only way to rectifie this Errour, is for man to descend into himselfe. For then upon acknowledgement of his owne vilenesse, he will let fall his Traine: humble himselfe in the consideration of his owne wants: and close his resolves with this conclusion: "Thus much I know, that I
 "know nothing: how then should I dare to aspire with too curious an eye, to looke into his
 "Secrets, who made all things of nothing?

Now to the third, that is, judgement in distinguishing things, by approving the best, and disallowing the contrary.

Dijudication of Histories, or judgement in distinguishing the approvedest, proceeds from a mature understanding.

In this Historiall Scale we must banish all lascivious and petulant wits, conversant about frothy and licentious obscenities. The Workes of an Historian should be Monuments of Antiquity, true Heralds of Acts; either prosperously, or unsuccessfully achieved: and not fomenters to lust, inducements to sensuality. Two sorts there be
 which

An excellent receipt for all such as labour of too much singularity.

Dijudication of Histories.

which eclipsè an Historians glory: from the one we reape the harvest of shame, where characters of *Myrrah*, and *Venus* (the wantons votaries) are deblazoned in their colours: yet in their descriptions more pernicious to easily-inclined youth, than ever *Archilochus* was to the *Spartan* dames. Poore *Albion* hath laboured too long of this impostume; such Historians must either be exiled, or the Common-wealth must of necessity bee depraved. Vice hath too many supporters, without the furtherance of Authors. From the other, there redounds no other benefit, than impertinent inquisitions of strangely-sought out Antiquities; so precise in description, so curious in foundation, and so selfe-opionate of their owne writings, as they oft-times doe onely (*Hæzere in verbis*) omitting the Substance to set out (with *Phydias*) the shadow: search of a fruitlesse Antiquity, occasioning a contempt in the body of the History. As in the foundation of a City, neglecting the materiallest parts of the discourse; as upon what occasion the City was rather erected there, than in another place; by what meanes it was augmented, how continued; and other necessary circumstances omitted; they insist upon affaires of lesse consequence; finding out where the first stone was laid, when the foundation of such a City was digged. This causes oftentimes great Volumes, with small benefit to the Reader; and indeede rather implies an affecting-opinion in the Author, of pleasing himselfe, than others.

Two sorts of Discourses eclipsing the glory of an Historian.

1. Sensuality.

2. Impertinency.

Ancient Records are necessarily inserted in Histories; but such are to be supported by truth, including a necessary relation to the Subject whereof he intreats. Otherwise, such Antiquities (as for selfe-pleasing) are produced, expresse nothing. *Præter plebicum & inutilem quendam opinionis succum.* These be rather opinionists than Historians.

These two kindes (like *Ianus* face) stand contrary-waies: the one sort (to wit the first) are *Charons* best Factors, they trafficke for a Ladies bonvoyage to hell; theres not a line in all their writings, that tastes of modesty, or relish of vertue: If *Pluto* and his Angels had not one she-Prophet, nor State-moppet within all his dominions, to make his Empire Noble: yet these Brothell-Authors (for better I cannot name them) would by their Lime-twigges, furnish his (*Malasperanza*) with a full saile. My Lady here sirs and reads wonders at the ingenuity of the man, (a pregnant youth doubtlesse,) and will make her *pregnant* too, if shee have any moving faculty in her; his best character is the Schoole-master of folly, the introducer of sensuall liberty, extinguisher of pure love, experienced instructor to lust, harbourer of illimited desires, and consequently harbenger to the Divell. As the *Martin* will not build, but in faire houses, so this man will not live, but in the ruines of honour: he is too conversant in the Court, too familiar in the City, and sometimes too willingly entertained in the Countrey. His Penne, as it is mercenary, so his labours

labours pernicious; his state labours of penury (and he would raise it) his soule of a Lethargy, but seekes not to redeeme it. To be brieft (for such a Subject is not worthy dilating on;) As *Augustus* banished *Naso* to *Naxos*, and his depraved workes to the darkest corner of his study: so should these petulant Wits be expelled every well-governed Common-weale, and their prostitute Labours sustaine *Eupolis* censure.

How highly other States have suffered in giving too much liberty to these unseasoned wits, might be amply enlarged, if our present discourse requir'd it. No doubt but *Rome*, even in her highest glory, when nothing but Successes breathed on her attempts abroad, and private affaires at home: Then, and never more than at that time, were light and wanton workes, which a civill Estate should have proscribed, highly honoured, the Authors of those Motives to effeminacy advanced; whereas, if their *Censors* had duely intended their charge, they would have held them fitting to have beene exiled, their workes to fire committed. So might that corruption of manners, which procedes oftentimes from such vicious Pamphletters, have beene prevented: and Morality better observed.

But why should we looke so farre backe, when we labour of the like malady at home? what high Patrons have present ages found for lightest Labours? where such as corrupted youth,

Light & wanton workes are to be exiled in every Civill State.

youth, received more approvement, then those who corrected the loosenesse of affecti-
ons.

It was a good Custome, when such Authors as published any Workes, had them not onely censoriously perused and scanned; but if it appeared, that they contayned in them more occasions of prejudice to the State then benefit; those Workes were not onely to be suppressed, but the Composers of them duly censured.

Their manner of proceeding was thus: Such passages as were usefull, or any way beneficiall, were in papers piece-meale, layd upon one pile: Those which were noxious or malignant, bestowed on an other pile: and both these put in two Scales: where if those of the right hand-pile (which ever conduced to the improvement of the State) weighed downe those papers which were on the lett-hand pile, their Labours were permitted to passe, and their Authors, according to the quality of that Subject, whereof they wrote, amply rewarded: If otherwise, their Workes were suppressed, and their Authors chastised. In which Scrutine, no question, but many Authors had *Basillus* fate; they received more fillups then Crownes; more censures then rewards.

The opinion of a serious and discrete judgement ever closeth in this: Learning never but then deserves the Laurell, when it is virtuously fruitfull. A light Dresse, be it never so neatly

Learning
never but
then deserves
the Laurell,
when it is ver-
tuously fruit-
full.

neatly suited, carries ever lightness with it. And the more it takes a deluded eye, though it please it selfe, the more it detracts from it selfe. The like we may say of these Venders, or bold adventurers of loose Labours. Be they never so trimly decked, nor artfully polished; *Lais* will be *Lais* still. The trimming will not alter the property of the stuffe. Nor can lightness, bee it never so smoothly carried, neatly varnished, nor cunningly palliated; keepe her Vizard still on. There will be some piercing judgement or other to bring to discovery a shrouded error. Nor deserve those Workes onely reproofe, who treat of light love; (though they be dangerous *Familiars* to haunt Ladies) but such who are tuned to an higher key, and either unprofitably, or which is worse, prophanely abuse their captiv'd Hearers. Amongst these, may be numbred our Chymick Professors: who hold it not sufficient (by strange *Elixirs*) to reduce their owne fortunes to nothing; unlesse they with their miserable conclusions, perplexe their simple admirers. Where, if a cleare-discerning judgement should take a more exact view of their ungrounded reasons, they would soone conclude, that those arguments which they offer, not unlike their adulterate Metals, are soulder'd with *Amalga*, and have more *Moone* than *Sunne* in them. These have got a tricke to slight all miracles of Divine Writte: holding with *Albumazar*, that *Moses* his leading the Children of *Israel* over the Red-Sea, was no more but observing the influence of the

Chymick Opinions.

Starres, and waining season of the Moone that withdraweth the Tides.

These are Subjects so incapable of priviledge, as they deserve the highest censure. I spare to speake of our Statizing Pamphletters, who shadowingly (to free themselves from State-scandal) deblaz'n some eminent Families by their Armes, Coate, or Fields: for which, some both Ancient and Moderne Historians have bene highly taxed. As likewise of such, who under borrowed names have stricke at high Personages: which might be aptly compared to cowardly Curres, who use to bite Passengers by the heeles, whom they dare not looke upon in the face.

State Stigmatis.

Factionists.

Non habet
charitatem, qui
non eruat uni-
tatem.

Aug.

As such who delight to ungorge their passionate spleane upon *Recreations of indifferency*, for no other cause, but because they are countenanc'd by *Majesty*. The last, being not the least, I account such, who spend much precious Oyle to enwreath and enwarpe the time in their Fopperies. These are *Controversall* Men, who rather than they will suffer the Church to be at Peace; will study new doubts to disturbe her quiet. These will rather stirre than stay quarrels: for, howsoever they seeme to pretend Unity; their affection tends to dissention: being of the slimy nature of such Fishes, as cannot live but in muddy and troubled waters.

That word *Nisi* in this sentence, *nisi manduca-veriss carnem*, set all the Counsell of *Basil* in an uprore.

uprore. That word *Donec*, as *Ioseph non agnovit uxorem suam Donec*, caused the *Antidicomaritans* and *Elusians* to deny the perpetuall Virginity of the Virgin *Mary*.

Thus quicke-fiery wits, carryed away with the spirit of Contradiction, preferring Singularity before Conscience, Errour before Truth, so they may finde *Shadows* to follow them, will finde cumbustible matter enough to the havocke both of Church and Commonweale: Not onely our Humane but Ecclesiasticall Histories are stored with various instances of this kinde. The Scope we aime at, is this: that such Workes, whether they be Historicall, Morall or Divine, are onely, upon Censure to be approved, by which the State may be usefully improved: all others to be rejected, because they are either by Scurrilous or Factious Braine-wormes hatched.

For the other, as none yeeld or afford more benefit to their Countrey, than laborious and judicious Antiquaries: so trifling and opinionately-conceited Historians may benefit themselves, but hardly can communicate the best of their knowledge unto others. Opinion is a maine Opponent to Judgment: the one guided (or rather drawne) by a precipitate will, the other disposed by the directing eye of Reason. Opinion (*Lesbian-like*) frames their Line by their worke, and not their worke by their line: but Judgment hath ever (*Cleanthes-like*) a Table equally mixed or furnished with services of *Arete & Pomona*,

Vid. Hesiod. in NoB. & Die.

Vertue and Pleasure: the one to profit, the other to delight: Which equally-mixed Judgment should be especially conversant in Censurers of Histories; they must not doe, as it is reported of *Valerius Maximus*, inhibit many things in the Evening, which hee would approve of in the Morning, and command that to be enacted one houre, which he would be ashamed to confirme the next houre. A settled and wel-seasoned judgment will with Circumspection, not so much censure a modest digression in a History, as the use which may be made of that digression; nor taxe any thing in a faithfull Historian, though he shadow at the corruptions of the Age with bitterness: for oyle and temporizing tongues, are nourishers of these vicious and irregular times; where, as Beasts in the Desart, so men live in the World: nor be Censurers to taxe such things for impossibilities, because they have not heard of the like; nor such Relations as false, which have not occurred to their readings. For how should wee give credit to those incredible attempts of former times, where Victories were atchieved with lesse adoe, than May-games in these times? To see *Antheus* renewing his strength, and doubling his force by falling: those magnanimous *Romans* erecting their spirits most when they were nearest declining. I have ever observed these times, as they second the first in gradation, so they stand inferiour to the first in exploits and managements of resolution. Censures should be ballances equally and evenly disposed; neither

*Sicut Bestia in
Eremo, ita Gen-
tiles in mundo.
Greg. in Moral.
29 Cap. 18.*

neither inclining to partiall affectation of person or state ; but ready to give approbation where the verity of Discourse, and sincerity of the Author gives his Pen free scope to curbe Errour, and attribute to Vertue her merited Titles. Alas, that Censurers should be either so engaged to the servile command of popular glory, or tyed to great mens sleeves, that the Historians Labours must be razed, which Truth would have raised! Vertue hath in her selfe a soveraigne end, to which all Liberall Arts and Sciences (in themselves truely noble, and meriting honour) have their aime and recourse.

This occasions Learning to be neglected, and the exact scrutinie of ancient Records (than the which nothing more beneficiall) to be suppressed, or at least, not a little darkned: when a *Rhadamanth*, or Critick Censurer must have the corrections of our industrious Labours, and judicious Volumes: which (to feed his owne indigested humour) must be subject to many frivolous interlacings. But Patience (which is *Comes sapientie, non famula concupiscentia*) must be the poore Historians supporter, making use of times abuse, and applying this salve to his misery, which the Poët inferred, as cause of *Romes* subversion and calamity:

Comes Victoria, somes injurta 3 famula fama, fama familia.

Virg. in Aene ad.

Prima peregrinos obscana pecunia mores intulit ---

That Critick *Menippus*, who was ever so definite in his owne opinion, as the whole course of his discourse relished nothing better then opposition. And to affront the *Time* wherein hee lived,

Menippus his
reproote of ri-
gid censurers;
whose judge-
ment only
consists in ra-
zing Labours,
and disheart-
ning Au-
thors: while
their innocēt
Lines are oft
misconstrued;
their sense
corrupted

lived, with more boldnesse, scorning to com-
ply eyther with *Time* or *Person* for his owne ad-
vantage, wished, like an indiscreet *Malecontent*,
that his *Pen* were a *Needle*, and his *Paper* a *Net-
tle*; yea, and his *Inke* *Aconitum*, that hee might
throw more poyson on the face of immerited
honour: and consequently, leave to posterity
surviving stamps of his invective nature: would
sometimes use, amongst other subjects of his dis-
content, to take occasion to fall upon a free re-
proote of *rigid Censurers*: whose judgement (as
his mis-guided opinion suggested) only consisted
in razing Labours, and disheartning Authors:
while their innocēt lines were oft mis-constru-
ed, their sense corrupted.

But this waspish Author by using his too much
freedome of censure to his Censurer, who had
authority to peruse and suppress, where hee
found cause, perceiving himselfe traduced, de-
servingly restrain'd what else might have beene
published: with *silencing* only, chastising his Er-
rour, to beget in him a more temperate censure.
Truth is, it were prepostrous for an *Author* to
assume to himselfe so much boldnesse, as to take
upon him the place of a *Moderator* to his *Cen-
surer*. The assumption of lesse liberty will suite
better with his Discretion and Modesty: and pur-
chase him a demerited esteeme with such grave
and censorious Authority: whose *place* is so much
more to be honoured, in regard they are deputed
by the State as *Surveyers* and *Discussers* of our
Labours: Perusing with a judicious eye, and cor-
recting

recting with a discrete Penne; to the end, no exception might be taken by the *State*, no prejudice redound to the *Author*, no corruption of manners to the Reader, nor opinion of neglect to the *Censor*.

Which course, were it not duely and exactly observed, what inconvenience might probably follow, there is none of a cleare and equall judgement but may easily perceive. For if freedome were given to wanton and luxurious Wittes to write what they would, *Arcines Tables* would receive from every light eye more admiration for true attractive beauty, than the most *Serious Piece* that ever was writ either in Philosophy, Oecononicall policy, or History. No; we should have our Stationers stalls covered with Libells: where the most integrious Spirit might become no lesse subject to a Calumnious Penne, than He, whose rising growth hath exprest it selfe in nothing more from his infancy, than in the increase of vice, and practise of villany.

It is the Authority then of a Censurer, that many times deterres a wandring Penne from his freedome of error. So as, by being regulated by such *Licence*, he becomes lesse *licentious* in the course and current of his Writing.

Nay, there is one thing more, which I shall onely glance at, purposely to induce the ingenuous *Author*, as he values the estimate of his owne honour, to submit himselfe to the candid censure of his *Licencer*. And it is this; no doubt, but the too opinionate conceite of every Author

complies with the positive judgement of the O-
 rator: "*Writers doe ever doase most of their owne.*
 How needfull then is it, for them to have more
indifferent eyes than their owne, lest they delude
 themselves most, by being too affectionately ta-
 ken with their owne? The *Beare* is as much ena-
 moured of her Cubbe, though of all others, the
 roughest; as the *Bever* is of his, being of all o-
 thers, the smoothest. And thus much in vin-
 dication of the honour of a just Censor. And
 how an impartiall eye may save the Author from
 much dishonour. Yet to speake a word or two,
 so it trench not too much upon their power, I
 hold it not amisse. The benefit may redound no
 doubt, being received as it is intended, both to
 the *Writer* and *Censurer*.

Many (which I have formerly touched and
 taxed) like some of our *German* Authors, set forth
 huge Colossian Bulkes, fadonlesse volumes (and
 if fatherlesse too, more credit to their fathers) but
 they have Bodies without Spirits, *Videntur Li-
 bri donec inspexeris.* "They beare the Cover and
 "Semblance of Bookes on them, till you looke
 "in them. Then, and never till then, they shew
 what mettrall they are made of. Leane Labours,
 from fat Authors.

It is commonly said, that Law, Logick and
 the Switzers may bee hired to fight for any one.
 Whatsoever they may bee, apparent it is, by
 their numerous fruitlesse Editions, that these
 will enter lists with any *Antagonist*, upon the
 least occasion. No Subject but must have their
 paines

paines and pennes bestowed on it. Huge intricate Commentaries, to make the Text more difficult. With some of these I have encounter'd, and for ought I could perceive by the Genuine Sence of their interpretation, they were so farre from the understanding of the Author they wrote on, as they might be sent to schoole againe, to learne to conster him, before they commented on him.

The like exuberance is many times showne by many of these, in their lighter composures: wherein, for most part, they offend least. For weake wits bestowed on weighty Subjects, erre most. I have heard of a trifling Pamphletter of this kinde, who after such time, as he had spent much waste Paper inventing some weake vapours of his owne, wherein he was ever no lesse constant in the choyce of his Patron to whom he Dedicated them, than he was in compiling those corky Subjects which hee addressed to him: presenting one day another light toy, his Patron having perused the Title, and divers passages in it, requited his Dedication with this witty Jeere: "Truely friend, quoth hee, you
 "have writ many foolish toyes in your time, but
 "of all that ever you yet writ, this passeth them
 "all. The poore Author highly taken with this commendation, not without great joy, reported the worthy entertainment he received from his Patron: and how highly to his honour, he had commended his Labour.

Now to our *Censurer*; as his place inferres a
 Pp 2 priority

priority of judgement, so I would have him to distinguish of the utility of Labours. These, who spend time, oyle and paper to purchase them the Title of Authors : let them be privately reprov'd, in daring to present such poore stuffe before the face of a publicke State. The common English Proverbe is ; “ *Better it is to sit idle, than worke idle.* This may be properly applied to them. Their fruitlesse expence of Time and Paper makes them farre more uselesse to the State, than if they wholly retired themselves from Labour. Truth is, these deserve no censure ; they are placed in too low a Siege. A milde reproofe will better beseme them ; telling them, how by all likely-hood, if any such should be suffer'd to goe abroad, or receive priviledge by authority, the next time that either he or any of his family should goe to the Grocer for their spicery, little doubt but some of his shaken leaves would bee return'd him, with sweeter contents than ever he bestowed on them.

Whereas SUCH, whose early and late Studies have highly improved their knowledge, and whose discretion (a small graine whereof would be very usefull to many of our Schollers) hath sufficiently inform'd them what is fit or accommodate for the time ; be the Subjects they treat of History, Antiquity, or other Diviner Elements : these, I say, well deserve the encouragement of a judicious *Censor*. For to use the words of our Moderne *Democritus* : “ I thinke all the “ *Anticyra* will not restore them to their Wits,
“ if

" if these men now, that have *Zenodorus* Heart,
 " *Crates* Liver, *Epictetus* Lanthorne, be so sot-
 " tish, and have no more braines than so many
 " Beetles, what shall we think of the Commonal-
 " ty? what of the rest? you may give that Censure
 " of them in generall, which *Sr. Thomas Moore*
 " once did of *Germanus Brexius* Poëms in par-
 " ticular:

——— *Vehuntur*

In rate stultitia, Sylvam habitant Furia.

If Learning and Discretion be not sufficient to make up an Author; what may wee expect from him that ha's neither?

Some of our *Censurers* have heretofore beene not unlike to some of our active Lawyers; who in perusing of their Clients pleadings, usually razed out what was most pertinent: but afterwards upon a more settled judgement, wrote *STET* in the Margent, to all that which they had formerly razed.

Multi dum castigant, castrant; dum mutant, mutilant. Many, too many, while they seeme to correct, they distract; while they alter, they torture.

But approved *Censors* are of another nature: (of which we were never better furnished in a competent number:) for these are of that *trua touch*, as neither gaine may corrupt them, nor the Authors person worke upon them, but the worth of the worke: this onely hath power to procure a priviledge from them.

But let me stay a little, that I may make an end the sooner; ere I proceed to the true distingui-

sher of Histories, I must caution two sorts of Men, which (in their Reading) pervert the use and scope of History, by a malevolent disposition, either bred in them by nature, or ingendred by custome, a second nature: the one foolishly precise, whose behaviour (as one observeth) is like a verse, wherein every sillable is measured; or like your *Spaniards* aspect, who will not smile beyond a point, for feare to unstarch his looke.

These cannot taste any thing well, that is not absolute; yet for their judgement a *Venetian Ass* may out-strip them: He is (unmeasurably proud) wise in his owne conceite, hath an Orbe in his braine, which ever turning round, makes his judgement braine-sicke.

The other, farre more intollerable, because more troubled with the rising of Spleene: hee detraeth from the best, and finds Scruples in infallible truths; his owne judgement, as it is defective, so it envies others, maturer in the height of understanding, and more exact in the ancient Surveies of Truth. But as Fortitude of body derives her Essence from the imbecility of the Minde, and the ability of the Minde from the debility of the body: So the Authors glory is oft-times revived, and augmented by the sting of Detraction, as the Detractors infamy by the Authors glory: Vertue alone is crowned, Vertue in her selfe, is of all possessed: She it is alone by which Man is Eternized. This is She that steeres the poore Historians Barke against all oppositi-
ons.

Two sorts of
finister Rea-
ders of Histo-
ry.
1. Curious.

Superbire, est
supra regulam
ire.
An Opinio-
nate Reader,
an incompe-
tible Censor of
an others La-
bour.

2. Calumni-
ous.

Hec est que
facit hominem
Deum, &c. Se-
uoca.

ons. In this Harbour therefore may I repose, leaving the depraved Reader to the distemperature of his owne humor, and betaking my selfe to my propounded Taske.

We must walke in a more modest path for judgment in the relation of every act that is done; we ought to use a kind of deliberation, consulting with our owne intimate understandings, and aske them whether such an Act is worthy memory, or no: for many things wee see and read, which Discretion would rather have omitted, than to Writing committed. We have occasion sometimes to unrip the tyrannick lives of Princes, and their illimited affections; of dissolute governments, and to what peculiar vices most engaged; yet in the summary rehearfall of these vices, we doe oft-times (as an excellent Historian hath well observed) *Instruere malos*, teach men to be evill, instructing them in the exercise of those impieties, with which before they were scarce acquainted.

Vice is of that spreading and propagating nature, as no infection can more dangerously or farally rage in any populous City, than her contagion in the flourishing City of the Soule. And so proclive is our Nature to the worst, as we receive it with farre more easie impressiõ, than that which reliseth of the best.

That *Italian* Lover, who found his Mistresse so mutable, could in the extremity of his passion (as what passion more violent or more permanent) cry out: "Our *Italian* Dames had ne-

Deliberation needfull in Histories of maine consequence.

Discovery of Vices abroad, many times instruct us in the very same at home.

“ ver beene acquainted with such disdain, nor
 “ entertained their Servants with such con-
 “ tempt, nor rejected them with such Selfe-con-
 “ tent, had they not beene instructed by incon-
 “ stant *Cassandra* to love in jeast and loath in
 “ earnest.

Which implied thus much : That nothing could more prejudice either publique or private Estates, then to be fraughted with *Forraine* vices.

Many States are best secured by *intelligence*; but by the knowledge of others Vices, few or none. Youth is a dangerous taking thing, and apt to be nibling at any baite that is throwne out: yea, and many of maturest judgements, whose long experience in the World, might have sufficiently inform'd them, that the hopes of Earth are failing; the Honours of Earth fading; all the faire-flourishing promises of this empty World deceiving : Yet, hearing such an Eminent Statist in an other Country advanced, they cannot so moderate their affections, but they must expostulate with their owne overweening Spirits; and on the silent night, when more composed minds can enjoy their freedom of rest; and allay the labours of a preceeding day with the untroubled sleepes of a succeeding night; These feele an *Aitna* within them; others *Triumphs* become their *Tortures*; others *Honours* their *Furies*.

☞ *Pompey*, that loyall but unfortunate *Roman*, being combred with his honour, and wearied with too glorious a *Servitude*, exclaimed

Many men of maturest experience, have and doe give way to sensual ubedi nee.

med to see *Sylla's* cruelty, being ignorant after what sort to behave himselfe in the dignity hee had; he cryes out amaine, forth of the consideration he had to an usurped Tyranny; with a serious reflexe had to humane misery: "O perill
" and danger never like to have end!

But *unconfined spirits*, whose thoughts are solely fixt on aëry structures; will not suffer their aspirings to be so bounded: nor the *voluptuous* his sensuall affections to be so couped: nor the poore *Groundling* to have his Earthy-tasting appetite so sated. These, as they peruse the Mapp of the World; they cull out what may please them best; though the issue afflict them most. As to instance in each of these; The high-minded Man loves to informe himselfe in the Progress of such Mens actions; whose aimes have beene no lower then Empires. They conceive their suppoortance to be as great; their Meanes as direct; their wayes as smooth. Flattering and deceiving hopes lull them a sleepe; they will not so much as suffer their thoughts to converse with Feare, or labour prevention of a fall, before their practise faile. Then, and never till then, they exercise the true knowledge of Man. Then they lament, what they cannot recall; so precipitate is that clifty tracke, where unbounded height walkes.

Now observe a little, whence the Occasion springs, which with winged speed brings on these inevitable miseries! I confesse, though many dispositions be naturally inclined to these in-

I hold him for
stupid, who
for feare of
Death, dyes all
his life-long:
And him for
wicked, who
lives without
feare of it, as
if there were
none at all.

discreete aimes : yet are they quickned much with Examples of others.

This moved a neighbouring Prince ; (one, whose personall prowesse hath worthily inrolled him in the Booke of Fame) sometime to send a Noble and Eminent Personage hither ; whose many arguments of Valour had gain'd him esteeme enough with his Prince (had his loyall thoughts, so well deserv'd it) onely to see and observe the censure and cloze of an high Spirit. Hoping, that such ocular objects would worke strongly upon his deluded thoughts : and bring him to a consideration of himselfe by presentments of feare, what his illimited height would not suffer him to thinke upon, with all those ample gratifications of love.

Most certaine it is, that the Survey of others actions produce wonderfull effects, according to the disposition of the Peruser or Spectator. For, as ill-affected spirits, who alwayes plant their hopes on unjust grounds ; and bring their indirect aymes to unhappy ends : are ever dreaming of stirring heads, whose constantst endeavour it was ever to disquiet the peace of the State : and craving no better *Medals* about them, then those of *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes*, mold their designs by such pernicious Patterns. So well-affected dispositions never eye ought with more attention, nor reteine ought with more constancy than the Loyalty of such as preferred their Countries Fame before their owne Life : desiring rather to dye than it should perish.

A constant *Curtius*; a resolute *Horatius*; an affectionate *Zopyrus*; a courageous *Codrus* are these mens Objects. Their Vertues they unfainedly wish may be their Patterns. These cry out with the Tragedian:

“No power so pure, as stedfast Piety.

Again, to a youthfull affection, there can be no sight, in the perusall of all *Plutarch*, like *Alcibiades* wantoning in *Timandra's* lappe. Nor in all *Suetonius*, like those uncomely lascivious presentments before *Nero*: a thought whereof could not chuse but beget a Vermillion-blush, a glowing shame in any modest eare. Which, to omit the rest, in my Judgment, were not fitting to be suffer'd to passe in any free state. Passages there are (as I have else-where noted) full of Obscœnity: and lyes open an entrance for unstay'd Youth to feed too liberally upon such inhibited delights. Such therefore, were much better to be shadowed, than so freely discovered: Seeing, “*Discovery of Vices*
“*abroad, many times instruct us in the very same*
“*at home.*

Nulla vis major Pietate vera est. Sen. in Thicst.

Forraigne vices become naturalized, and made ours by imitation.

Should two Embassadours come hither; one from *Sidon*, another from *Tyre* (as one wittily observeth) and should vye in Vanity, as they sometimes envied one anothers glory; we should collect, that no State-affaires drew them hither, but rather to shew the vanity of one Countrey to the other: Which if we our selves should admire, in very truth we were madder than either.

True it is, there is nothing either in matter of Discourse, Employment, Reading; or what Re-

creation soever, but that soly workes upon us, which sutes with our humour, or delights us.

Alexander being much in love with *Apelles*, as one highly rapt with the exquisitenesse of his Art, propos'd him that Modell for a Task; which he of all others affected most; commanding him on a time to paint *Campaspe*, a beautifull Woman, naked: Which *Apelles* having done, such impression wrought the Picture (an inimitable Piece in so nearly tracing Nature) on the affection of the Artist, as *Apelles* fell in love with her, which *Alexander* perceiving, gave him her.

There is nothing which wee intently eye, and by the Crany of the eye convey to our heart, but our Fancy like another *Apelles*, easily findes a Table for that Portraiture. Let *Virtue* then be our *Campaspe*; otherwise, that Table which should be reserved for the purest Deity, will be taken up with the impression of some lighter Fancy.

Lastly, the Earth-taken Soule, who constantly holds *Avicens* Aphorisme, "that Gold is the best Restorative; admires *Achans* Wedge; *Alcmæons* Store; hugs them in the happy fruition of their state: meane time, holds *Anacharses* Temperance; *Anacreons* Moderation fitter for the *Wildernesse* than the *World*. These read nothing in this kind, but they make use of it: but the use is ever perverted. Examples they finde to authorize their basenesse: these they reteine: but little care take they how to cure them, by
apply-

applying usefull Receipts to remove those spreading evils.

A Masters vice corrupts his Family.

So sayes the Poët. No vice more retentive than vicious Writing: it corrupts the Judgment by Apologizing Vice with a forraigne President.

That was an excellent Rule of Direction to regulate our forme of Speech: "*If thy Speech may improve others, why art thou silent? If it neither bebove thy selfe nor others, why art thou not silent?*" The same course is to be observed in our forme of writing: "*If by our Pen we may profit our selves, it is well; if some few others as well as our selves, it is better; if all, it is the best; if none, Silence enjoynes the Workman to take his rest.*" In one word, as some things are necessarily to be remembered, so others no lesse necessarily to be omitted. And with farre more Discretion may they in their *Embrio* be silenc'd by the Author; then after such time as they are published, to be suppress by Censure.

That memorable Law-giver being demanded what punishment was to be inflicted on him, who should chance to slay his Father or Mother: hee answered them with, *Haud equidem puta, &c.* I doe not thinke there can be any of so unnaturall disposition.

Acts silenced sometimes doe better than if expressed: for the Curtaine of vices drawne, moves Imitation rather than Evitation.

Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica—Hor.

*Quò taces, modo proficias?
Quò non taces, si minus proficias?*

Hoc nempe ab homine exigitur, ut profit hominibus si fieri potest, multis; si minus, paucis; si minus proximis; si minus, sibi. Senec. de vitâ beatâ.

In distinguishing also of things good and necessary from their contraries, wee should not mixe triviall Discourses in our maine Relation: they much impaire and disparage the weight of an History, distracting the Readers minde with impertinencies, where the Subject might of it selfe be better prosecuted; nor can any thing shew more indiscretion in an Author, than these vagaries, where attention can no way be moved, the expectances of men satisfied, or a reall delight with profit apprehended. Attention (as that eloquent Orator noteth) is there the quickest, where wee promise to speake of things, great, new, un-usuall; or such affaires as may conduce to the benefit of the Common-weale, to the establishing of Religion, Piety, or the like.

Now such serious Discourses (in themselves grave and ponderous) are not to be mixed with every frivolous digression; the Body of the History being solid, should not depend of weake and infirme members: which might seeme to resemble the *ROMAN* Colosse, of an huge proportion in body, but feeble feet; so as one day the frame of the whole was demolished by the debility of one part. Yet in this grave and firme Composition, there must be one necessary Caveat inserted: that whensoever we draine the approbation of our Discourse (as from many, and those to our Judgment of the selected Authors) we reconcile their Opinions, and make one united Body of so many dispersed parts. This I thought to caution (as well the Histories per-

users,

Strange novelties draw attention, move approbation, if probability be mixed in the Discourse.

users, as the generallest Collectors of) because I have observed this foule error (and that in both Ancient and Moderne Relations) where divers Authors were cited, and their severall Opinions marshalled on a row: but as in a battell, when the wings be broken, there ensueth nought but an universall confusion; so without reconciliation in the conclusion, he leaves the Reader in suspence, whose opinion to entertaine; because not directed by the Author.

This implies a double defect; either from stupidity, not able to distinguish; or from a pertinacy, not willing to communicate his Judgment to others. The latter is more intollerable than the first; for the one includes a native defect, (which hee would remedy if his Apprehension could better it.) The other a malicious desire of ingrossing knowledge to himselfe; though both unworthy of an Historicall place: for Ignorance deserves small entertainment in so judicious an Argument: and a perverse disposition much lesse, concealing his knowledge from his Countrey, which by his Subject (it seemes) he intended to benefit. In distinguishing likewise, we should ever observe to cull out such perspicuous Sentences, as comprehend most, yet least in affectation: for such taste ever of singularity. *Hortensius* was called by *Pythias* (for his too much gesturing) a profest *Mimick*, a *Dionysian*: the same Title may be given our curious Relators: they binde their Subject to their words, esteeming no discourse in it selfe worth judicious observa-

Opinions drawne from divers Authors should be reconciled, ...

A double defect, Obstinate and Ignorant.

Vid. Aul. Gel. in Noſt. Attic.

Words should be accommodated to the matter, not the matter to the words.

observation, but what is replenished and full fraughted with polite sentences, making the matter indebted to the superficiall Art of the Composer.

What dresse, both for choise of Words, and disposition of Phrase, best becomes an History.

You shall read in many Historians a singular kinde of state, the forme and order of their Relations, observed : Neither shall you finde in that Style any such affected State, as with large *Parentheses* to intangle the understanding, or too much enlarge the Subject, by challenging too neare affinity with Art. The selfe same forme which sometimes that richly-enobled *Mirandula* commended to his, I should best approve of in these. "As I do not (saith he) require from you
 " a forme of Speech to trimme, so I would
 " not have it trash ; as I would not have it too
 " neate, so I would not have it too rough ; as
 " not too choice, so not too course.

Whatsoever tastes of affectio, digresseth from this Disposition.

That unkemb'd and incompr Antiquity, he could not endure. He would have Lines so taste of the Lampe, as to have a stronger relish of labour, than affectation from any other. As first, for the *choice of Words*, No man, unlesse he have already vow'd to converse onely with Aire, can be of so distemper'd a judgement, as to preferre a superficiall dresse of *Words*, before the maine *Subject* whereof hee meanes to intreate. This were like one, that should addressse himselfe for some farre journey, and accommodate himselfe with all necessaries fitting for such a journal : but neglects wholly, or knowes not the bent of his Travaile whereto he goes, nor for

for what end. And foolish were he, who, upon perusal of such an Airy Author, that decks his Workes meerey with an outward lustre, should fall into a veine of applauding or commending him; Nor could he well have lesse reason to approve such *Encomions* (but rather hold them for *Paradoxes*) than such, who have beene sometimes pleased to bestow their derisory praises upon the very worst or contemptiblest Subjects. After this sort, was *Polycrates* that famous *Athenian* Rhetorician pleased to fall into the praise of the Tyrant *Busyris*, *Seneca* of *Claudius*, *Favorinus* of *Therpsites*, *Maro* of his *Gnat*, *Lucianus* of his *Flye*, *Apuleius* of his *Asse*: Againe, *Favorinus* of a *Quartane Fever*, *Glaucus* of *Injustice*, *Synesius* of *Baldnesse*, *Lucianus* of *Parasiticall Flattery*, *Erasmus* of *Folly*. But truth is, praise may reflect upon the Subject that is unworthy of such praise, by way of disgrace. To commend a parcimonious man for his bounty or liberality, or a severe Judge for his clemency, layes him open to the World; which makes his Commender a Satyricall Displayer: in extolling him in that respect onely, which hath begot him, to such as truly know him, a marke of ignominy. Flattery, saith one, is not alwayes to praise in presence, for ingage our selves wee may to that hatefull brand, by praising in absence; that is, when either the vertue, for which he is praised, is absent, or the occasion: as for *Vertue*, as she is her owne praise, her owne Princely President; so is her owne

Tu quem com-
mendes etiam
atque etiam
aspice:
Nemo incu-
riant aliena
tibi commissa
pudorem.
Horat.

prize her owne praise, farre above the oylly Rhetorick of any affective Parasite.

Such *Words* then beseme an Historian best, which are proper and native. Such as were obsolete or out of use were much distasted of our Historians of ancient time : so as, howsoever some abstruse words may fall out now and then in the Relations of *Tranquillus*, which tasted too much of *Calepine*: no doubt, but they were in those times received for Native. Howbeit, sometimes they mainly obscure the mind of the Author. Some Arguments likewise cannot be expressed in usuall Words : unlesse the Word by which such a thing should be rendred, were dilated to a whole sentence. In such case, the Historian is to be excused ; because the easinesse of this error, is rather to the *Subjett* than *Author* to be imputed. In brieve, I will conclude this with that sententious saying of the Poët:

*Words follow matter of their owne accord,
Matter gives life and essence to the Word.*

Now, for the *Phraze* ; as I have formerly proposed the best direction, that such, who have already writ of that Subject, have recommended ; all the better, to imprint this in your memory ; it is to be understood, that no *Phraze* of Speech better becomes these Relations, than such as are brieve and sententious. I have knowne some, in their Additions to certaine pleasing Inventions of our owne ; by labouring to surpasse their Coppy

(left

(left imperfect, and falling into their nice hands to make compleate) through an affected Elegancy of phraze, to have darkned the meaning of the Author: by furnishing the Story with an Ocean of Words, but scarce one droppe of Reason. The *Phraze* then must be so disposed, that the matter whereof wee treat, must not through affectation become intangled, nor any way obscured. Wherein a great measure of discretion is required: Yea, and in one and the same History, the *forme* of the *Phraze* may be changed. Light Subjects are ever properly suited with light Lines. But when we addresse our Discourse to describe the Subversion of a State; the depopulation of any flourishing City: still from the Tragicke ashes of such a Story, may our Penns bee taught to droppe Teares. There is no representment of Sorrow that suites well in the same Habit or Colours, that Subjects of delight are to be attired in. When that Nation, our Historian hath occasion to write of, shall be cloathed in mourning garments; when fire and fury attend them without, feare and famine within:

*When their weake Walls are so inclos'd about,
That feare gets in, but nothing can get out.*

Then must his *Phraze* of Speech put on an heavy dresse. Elegancy never lesse be seemes him than at that time. Passionate Enter-breathes; Treaties of Sorrow; Eare-moving expostulations

from those disconsolate Agents of misery, are fitting Dishes for such a bloody banquet.

Benzo in his Indian Story expresseth a singular Art in his discovery of Passion in this kinde; who relating the cruelty of the Spanish Nation practis'd upon the West Indies (if the History hold concurrence with truth) collects a Summary of all in this one presidentall report: In one of their Ilands called *Hispaniola*, of twenty hundred thousands, when the people stood untoucht (which had they remain'd so still, might have redounded more to the honour of that Nation) the Author was verily perswaded at the penning of his History, that there were scarce a hundred and fifty soules left; whence he exclaimed, *O quot Neronēs, quot Domitiani, quot Commodi, quot Bassiani, quot immites Dionisij casterras peragravere?*

He has in store a Catalogue of unexemplary Tyrants, for such unexemplary mischietes. Passion in Discourses of this nature (which is farre better express'd in abrupt sighes, than polish'd speech;) will become well the penne of an Historian. Another Style is to be used in peaccable Treaties, Nuptiall Solemnities, or Orations by way of Embassie and the like.

In the distinguishing then of these, as I have formerly noted; is much discretion required. For to use any Style that may not suite with the *Subject* whereof he treats, argues a want of disposition in the Author: resembling such ridiculous Actors, who, whether they speake of Heaven or Earth,

This might be amply illustrated by those inhumane cruelties lately committed by the *Groats & Curliings* in *Germany*.

Benzo in Hist. Ind.

Earth, fixe their eyes alwayes on one place : or whether they speake of warre or peace, eyer reteine one tune in their ill-disposed voyce. Shall we then a little longer insift upon such particulars, for matter of Style, as either impaires or improves the beauty of an History? Hearc what my opinion, derived in part from others, is in this.

These besecme not a History; dilated circumstances, instances too much stood upon, an ambiguous leaving of somethiug undetermined: They leave the understanding in doubt what to resolve, the judgement what to thinke, the thoughts what to deliberate : So as our reading conferres no other profit, save an intricate winding or wreathing of many anxieties together : Giving the Minde free scope to imagine the event, being implied by the Author.

An Historian in his writing should have a kinde of seeming security for his Style and Order of Speech; yet not so, (as to omit an exact or wittily composed jest) to relish the Readers distaste : Such was *Tacitus* use, by enterlacing the seriousness of his Tale, with some judiciall (but strangely briefe) sentences; annexing some pleasant straine, either of meere purpose invented, or from the occasion of his Subject derived, to sweeten the heavier part of his discourse: which should not be too long insisted on, for that were trifling; but shadowingly touched, for that implies plenty of Subject; not flying to triviall relations, to make up a greater Volume, but

*Non ubi vanitati
festivitas
proprie cedit.*

for the delight of the judiciously affected: *Miscen-
doutile dulci.*

But alas, where this distinguishment of judgement of Histories requires great labour, it oftentimes obtaines as little favour: The present age cannot admit of such discourses, they be too serious: So that whosoever should compile a Volume of Judiciall extractions, or approved Observances, should hardly have as many Readers, as *Persius* conjectured for his Labours; *Velduo, vel nemo*: O ill disposed Times! when judgement goes a Wool-gathering. *Augustus* had two which he especially respected above the rest of his Nobles, and the one of them was a *Mecenas*, a Patron of learning, and a grace to the sacred influence of Poësie: But where should we finde an *Atlas* for *Parnassus* in these dayes? where Noble (yet degenerate Spirits) esteeme him that will be Pandor to his Punke, above him that will bee Patron to a Poëm? It seemes strange that in best experient times, where knowledge should bee hightned, the foggy vapours of ignorance dispelled: Nay, where these times have respite from warlike Alarums, and therefore may securely feede at *Minerva's* Table, should be so delighted with superficiall shadowes, contemning the perfect essence and lustre of Man, (to wit) how to know himselfe. Here the Miser digges (and with the Dormouse) sleepes out his time in a fruitlesse scraping; There the Prodigall (carelesse of times expence) bastardizeth his Fathers providence, leaving no more to himselfe, than that he

Nomina, Me-
cenas, Char-
itum scribuntur
arenis, Pieridū
gelidis inclya
Scripta ro-
gis. ib.

Worlds Ana-
tomy.

he could not take from himselfe, a poore Grave: Here the Ambitious man; displaying his pie-coloured flags of vanity (in the elation of his Spirit) contemnes the inferiour ranke of men, ever aiming at an higher Spheare than popular presse, till his aspiring produce his falling, and the honour which hee purchast without merit, forsakes him not without shame: But which of these will take paines to see himselfe represented in Exemplary Histories? If the Picture of old *Menedemus* were hung up in the eye of the Miser (he would I doubt it not) gaze with his foure eyes on the Picture, but make little or no use on the Patterne: The Ambitious man, if hee saw the Character of himselfe in that vast and undetermined minde of *Catiline*, in that ambitiously insinuating spirit of *Seian*, I feare me hee would rather make use of the meanes of his rising, than caution himselfe by his untimely declining: The Prodigall (expressing his owne Mirrour, by *Theotimus* error) who preferred lust before his eyes, would (much I feare it) rather darken the eye of his Soule, to satisfie the eye of his Body, than moderate his passions on Earth, to reape the fruit of his Moderation in Heaven. O that these Times would so distinguish of their abuses, as being discovered, they may be censured; for where abuses are concealed, they seeme afresh to be renewed, and (with Authority) confirmed, but being openly ript, they may be whipt and stript: first displayed to the eye of the World, then summoned before the *Throne of Justice!*

It

It was a constant Custome, as hath beene observed, for the *Roman* State; and that when she was in her prime Monarchicall beauty, for all Artificers to carry about them the badges of their Trades, the Signals of their Conditions. And this every Mechanick willingly obeyed; so as, it was not permitted them to walke abroad through the Streets of the City, without this Cognizance of their quality. While one more precise than wise, standing one day forth in the presse of the people; "Sirs, quoth he, we are injoynd to goe with the severall Badges of our poore professions, and as meeete is, we observe the Custome. Meane time, how shall we know what Trade our perfumed Silken Courtiers are of; our purple Consuls, or our Scarlet Citizens? Where be the Armes they beare? The Cognizants they carry?"

The Speech of this Critick Artizan came streight to the Emperours eare; who liking well of his blunt question, injoynd all such as retained to his Court, or boare Magisteriall places in his Courts of Justice, or bore high Offices in the City, to observe the like course which those inferiour Mechanicks observed. This was enjoyned, and their observance expected. Many Devices and Impresse's were contrived, but few or none pleased. It was thought fit by the Emperour, that such devices and no other should accomodate them, as that very Artist should invent, who first proposed this Observation to them. He ready to embrace such a Taske, and obey

obey so just a command, sets his Invention forth with on worke, which he discovers in this sort.

For the *Courtier*, he gave him a *Sweet Glove* with this Impresse: *Eius ero, quam gero.*

For the *Consul*, a *Wedge of Gold* with this Mott: *Illi haeco, quod fero.*

To the *City Officiall*, a *Lampe in the snuffe*, with these words: *Ferveo, at fateo.*

Howsoever the device might seeme bitter, this invention was not onely approved, but rewarded by the Emperour.

It is a true saying, "There is nothing that gives more nourishment to Vice than want of employment: by doing nothing, wee shall soone learne to doe worse than nothing.

Action is the life of Man, and when the Fancy is not well imployed, it will assay something that may witness to the World, it had better farre beene restrained.

For my part, I cannot chuse but wonder (with that Divine Cynick) how Man bred amongst Men should so soone forget the prime beauty of Man, as to suffer it to be drenched in the Lees of loose affections. How a living Substance, and that Substance endowed with Reason, should so faune on a Shadow. Or hold himselfe imparadized with the poore conceit of a smile from one lighter than Vanity. What an incomparable Favour is one ravish'd Feather from her Fanne, whose very levity is the Embleme of that Favour? Are these manly motions? What a tricking, trimming, poudring and purfling this poore

Si

Rinde

A witty conceit of a bold Artizan.

A modest discovery of the abuses of the time; how they are to be searched; how cured.

Rinde must have: what a varnish must Art bestow on it? Meane time, what *Diogenea* sometimes said to a youth too curiously and effeminately drest, may be truly said to this painted piece: "If thou goest to Men, all this is but in vaine, if unto women, it is wicked. Now, as the *Lure* of a light Curtezan is *Lucre*; her *aim* must consequently be the *ruine* of her *Lovers*. So as, her speech to her poore Suiter is the very same, which that old Strumpet used to a worne-out Customer of hers, who asked daies of payment for his pleasure, *Oculata vestra sunt manus, credunt quod vident*. If unguided youth would have his delights sensible, her receipts must be palpable.

Lesse occasion of griefe it cannot be to any one who affects Piety, or suffers with a just man in his wrongs: To see an honest and integrious cause fall light in the Scale, because his gold wants weight. To see justice weighed by graines: Or Scarlet attended by vices in the same Livery.

Or a rich Chuffe, whose ill-thriving providence his posterity tastes of; to squeeze the weake ones with his unconscionable bargaines; to treasure to himselfe what will sticke by him, when poore dust (the remainder of all his care) shall receive him: Many a dry eye attend him: and his hungry Executors (as Ravens greedy after prey, and impatient of too long delay) shall imbrue his corpse with their blood before they bury him.

Let

*Vid. Mariam
in Arcad.
Priuc.*

Let these reflect upon themselves and their owne follies ; and see themselves personated in divers instances in all our Histories : and when they have taken a full view of their owne enormities ; which cannot be of such small proportion, but they will appeare visible enough to their recollected fancies, let me aske them in the same tearmes that the young Gallant in *Erasmus*, asked his wanton Mistresse : “ Are yee not ashamed to doe that in the sight of God and testimony of his Angels, which yee are ashamed to do in the sight of Men, inferiour to Angels? Sores cannot be cured, till they be discovered and searched : a Morall Story h^{as} in readinesse a *Probat* to search them, and *Balme* enough, if usefully applide, to heale them.

O let Histories, as they be Records of what were done, whether good or evill ; excite us to be good, and deterre us from being evill : Stories are replenished with examples of both sorts, for they be Store-houses of precedent events, and consequently so to be observed and digested, as the Judicious Reader may better dispose of his events. I have noted in Discourses of this kind, the observance of that *Generally Judicious Gentleman*, and the best advancer of depressed Learning, where he saith : *Some Bookes are to be tasted, some to be swallowed, few to be chewed and digested.* Such as are to be tasted I comprehend, in Stories of modest accomplement, superficial flourishes, garnishing our Discourse modestly without vaine ostentation or bravery: Such are

Sir F. B.

A Three-fold Discourse branched into a three-fold Observance.

to be swallowed, as those Amorous, and fruitlesse labours of braine-sicke Authors, freighted with continuall Hyperboles comely in nothing but love: Such are to be chewed and digested, as include discourse tending both to instruction and delight, &c.

So then, here we may come to our judiciall point; we see and read Histories, some onely to be tasted, others swallowed, some few chewed, as Beasts were in the old Law. Histories being ruminated and chewed, yeeld a continuall profit, and the more meditated, the more beneficial; which seemed well approved (and no lesse worthy our observance) by his institution, that willed every Reader to take these three remembrances in his way to reade: *Libenser*, *Diligenter*, and *Intelligenter*; The first yeelds a present delight, because it includes a willingnesse; the next a diligent Attention, implying a seriousnesse; the last an use of both, enfolding an understandingnesse: These three attend a judicious distinguishing of Histories, Judgement in discerning what is best, and these to apprehend the best: These foure commixed resemble twinnes at two burthens, all directours one to another: for without judgement, we may chuse the worst as soone as best, taking our aime onely at delight, without recourse to profit, best agreeing with the outward sence; here is a want in the Election: without willingnesse, our reading breeds a loathing; without diligence, our discourse is fruitlesse; and without understanding, our minds be
erring

Three Observances worthy our consideration in Reading.

Use of those three Observances.

erring. And thus much for dijudicating of Histories, an essentiall part of this Booke: I have but summarily set down my Opinion (grounded on the collections of others) herein, that I might prosecute the former parts of my Division in the Method of this History, contracting much into a little Body.

THe Method which I propounded to my selfe in the beginning, was first to describe the Scope of Histories: Secondly, the use, fruit, and effect of Histories in generall: and the third extracted from the second, that the particular Profit which redounded eyther to a Family in private, or administration of States in publicke by these Histories. For the first, being the original whence the two others are drained, I have spoken sufficiently: Longer (I confesse) was I enforced to insist upon them, then my Volume (which I prescribed my selfe) would admit: But the many Vses, Subdivisions, and grounds naturally arising from them, enforced me to prosecute the Argument more fully: I intend now to handle the second part, to wit, *the Fruite and Vse of History*, the speciall'st Motive inducing reading.

The Method
prosecuted.

THe greatest and movingst argument of persuasion to the undertaking of this or that, is the benefit we expect redounding from our enterprise: I will succinctly expresse the severally-
moving

Vse of History.

moving effects of profit (the worldly mans Adamant) from History, Naturally and Essentially derived: which being laid open, I hope the Miser (who as *Seneca* noteth, is good to none, but worst to himselfe) will be profitable both to himselfe and others: My *Exordium* shall be drawne from him, because I take him to be one of the divils chiefest Factors, and more benefit should I yeeld my Country in bringing such an one, than in taking an Arch-pirate: From him descending to every vitious professour (binding my selfe ever to my tackling) the *fruit of History*, in it selfe able to reclaim the depraved'st from their habituated enormities.

A Miser and Misery were ever held Correlatives. And he is that true Miser, who, like the blind Mole, receives al his nutriment from Mold. It is strange that any Creature endued with Reason, should so much slave the freedom of so right a Sovereignesse to the thraldome of Sense. When the Prince or Princessë falls sick, the whole Court mournes, sayes that incomparable *Morall*. Apply this to thy owne Condition, miserable Wormeling; thy Princessë is mortally sicke; thy *Soule* who languisheth irrecoverably; how can all her faculties doe lesse than suffer?

Shee ever hated conversing with Earth: her Contemplation was in an higher Spheare. And as a Plant removed from that Soile where it liked, and brought to a plotte of ground from her Nature estranged; shee h'as (flate quite lost her Verdure and Vigour. Thus hast thou suffer'd

5.
The true Characterall Portraiture of a Miser.

Languente
Principe, tota
in lachrymas
resoluta est Cu-
ria:
Succumbente
anima; cuncta
familia patium-
tur Orgina.

fer'd thy *Divine part* to be drowned and drest
ched in the contemptiblest refuse and rubbish
on Earth.

Oh that thou knew'st but what a small scant-
ling or portion of this Earth which thou so
much affectest, must serve thy turne : and what
a small measure in the *Interim* (if thy desires
would rest so satisfide) will afford thee a Com-
petence ! These thy unbounded and Hydro-
pick affections would confine themselves to a
straiter Circumference.

Truth is, there is nothing which this *Earth-
worm* enjoys, that hee can properly entitle his
owne. For as those Temporary Blessings which
hee has received, are estranged from his use :
so the very thoughts of his heart are not his
owne, because they are ever fixing on anothers
Farme. Hee sees nothing flourish in anothers
Pasture ; but the Object of it begets his distem-
per. Others fatness makes him leane. To
gain him an estate, he cares not how he mace-
rate his Body. It fareth with such men as these,
as it doth with the *Sea-Eagle*, who, when hee
cannot teaze upon his prey, he throws himselfe
head-long into the Gulfe.

Now, whereto extends this immoderate
Care? he will tell you, for himselfe and his po-
sterity. Let us then divide these parcells of
his Care, and collect what use hee makes of
it either in respect of himselfe, or his Scape-
thrift Heire.

It is good providence (for so hee guilds his
Avarice)

Corpus extenu-
at, ut lucrum
extendat.

Cum ferre quod
capit, nequeat,
in gurgitem de-
mergitur.

Avarice) which hath brought him to this mace- rating Care. He cannot endure to see the Creatures of God, so lavishly nor carelessly scattered. He h'as resolv'd to hold an hanke: Though it be now Summer with him, hee knows not how soone Winter may come. He h'as resolv'd therefore to play the provident Ant; to have his Granars full; Vine-presses flow; to have a Friend in a corner to revenge him of his Foe, and doe his Friend a pleasure.

These are faire flourishes; but looke what precious fruits these glorious Resolves produce! What benefit brings all this hoording to himselfe? Or what utility to the publick State? To himselfe, I dare say, neither living or dying. For observe him while he is living; and you shall find him the poorest and leanest Soule in all his Meniey.

Yea, he could be well contented, of all Sects, to be a *Pythagorean*; wishing with all his heart (so it might stand with the conservation of Nature) neither to eat nor drinke all his life-time: but he intends not this abstinence to increase his Knowledge, but to improve his Fortunes by an abstemious providence. So as, that Cynick tooke not his marke amisse, when resolving one day to distinguish a Land-buyer from a Seller; a miserable Chuffe from a sociable Good-fellow; tooke his ayme by their Physnemies. If hee saw one plumpe-fac'd, ruddy-complexion'd, cheerefully countenanc'd, quick-ey'd, hee would accoast him with this Salute: "Sir, are not you a Seller?"

But

His insatiate desire of increasing his State; his uselesse ends in disposing his Store.

Some of these wee have here lately had; who as they a-bridged Nature of her due, and dyed in her debt; so they could not performe the Office of Nature long before their Death.

But when he saw one of a leane meagre Countenance, chop-falne, earthy complexion'd, he would presently alter his conjecture upon sight of his Feature, and greete him thus: "In good sadnesse, grave Sir, are not you a Purchaser? Whence we may safely conclude: *That he ha's the best part in the World, that ha's least part in it.*

Optimam partem in mundo habet, qui minimum habet.

Nor can this unprofitable care of a wretched Worlding, become any way usefull to him in his dying. His Testament is made; and he leaves in it what he is unwilling to leave. And to whom he leaves it, he knowes not; but enjoy must others, what he could not. A Grave-stone, perchance, may distinguish him from the poor ones of the Parish. But for an Inscription, either his memory merits none, or his mindlesse Executor bestowes none; or the dis-esteem of his Survivers will not deagne him one.

Nor can this penurious providence of his, afford much good to his succeeding *Scatter-good*. Who cries out with that short-mourning Gallant; so soone as he h'as earth'd the Foxe.

*Away with Sable, Bugle, Cypresse-black,
For now mine humour is to mourne in Sack.*

Itte procul vestes pulve, virgaque Cypressi, Expediet maste fata levare nero.

Thus have you pensil'd out the Portrature of a Miser. His insatiate desire of encreasing his State, his uselesse end in disposing his Store: all which by a right use of Historicall Observations, may receive a speedy cure.

The Misers
profit by Hi-
story.

The Miser, that is indebted to both backe and belly, so engaged to the World, as he must have his household-God of the World, ever harboured in his bosome, or made his pillow to sleepe on, the key of his rust : Hee that never fed Nature in all his dayes with competency; or durst recreate himselfe, for feare least his recreation should playcheater, and coulsen him of his providence : being the moath of the ver-
tuous, the harbour of the vitious : carrying a conscience more infectious than Rats-bane ever about him; if ever he have grace to cast his eye into an Historicall Discourse (next to the Sacred Writ) he shall finde as Sovereigne Antidotes for his malady, as in any place. I will Anatomise the Misers corruptions, and like an artificiall practitioner first open his wounds, and then infuse Balme into them, wlsch Uction if it will not serve, I shall then apply more rough and sharp plaisters.

Now Master Miser, that is, meere wretched man; thou hast sufficient, and more than is competent for nature, yet thou art not satisfied: A very, very little will serve thee for thy use, for thou never hadst the Grace to know what an honest expence meant : Thou Tartalizest thy selfe; amid'st of plenty, famished; Thou hast a good mind to be rich, but that's impossible: *Semper avarus eges*; There is a greedy worme that is ever consuming and gnawing on thee : Thou art at liberty, yet imprisoned, and in more intol-
erable servitude, than the misarablest Captive
upon

A Miser can-
not be rich.

upon earth ; yet thy chaines are of gold, thou art a gorgeous prisoner ; Thou art subjected to more hazards than a Merchant Venturer ; to more nightly oppressing, and sur-charging cares, than an Emperour ; to more hourelly distractions, and terrible apparitions, than a Murtherer : Thou wouldst sleepe if thou couldst, but thy disturbed thoughts deprive thee of that comfort : To be briefe, as thou art in Image the best, so in disposition the worst of all creatures, being thine owne *Timon*, thine owne hangman, that macerates thy selfe, and makes thy appetite ever insatiate.

I will lead thee into a spacious field of Histories, where thou shalt see thy immerited mind deblazoned in her colours ; not a memorable instruction for Liberality (thy absolute Opponent) but shall be produced for thy use : that seeing the eminence of thy Adversary, thou maist hate thy selfe, and bee reconciled at last to thy Foe,

The Liberall-hearted man is as much Master to himselfe, as thou art thine owne Slave : he surpasseth thee in use of his owne, and can direct himselfe by an equall proportion, limited ever to a generally approved end. Hee hates to draw in the Sailes of his Bounty, in the presence of desert, and makes no more account of his own, than to distribute to others wants a share of his fortunes; nor esteemes he that his owne, of which he hath not power, and in his power can freely give : hee verifies the Verse (approving a

*Sub te omnia,
que extrâ te.
Omnia infrâ
te, que extrâ
te. Terram su-
prâ es, si te su-
peres. ib.*

A miser his
owne Hang-
man.

A contrariety
in two differē
dispositions.

liberall mind: *Quod nunquam dederis, non habuisse putat* : He never was so farre engaged, or enthralled to any earthy substance, as to make it chiefe-taine over his intellectuall part : he makes this his Position, and scornes it should be controuled by any inferiour subject: *To give, and to delight in giving* : And that day wherein (to the moiety of his fortunes) he hath not demonstrated the rare Character of his Bounty, he cryes out with *Titus, Amici, perdidimus diem* ! This day hath beene an abridgement of my generous intentions, a restraint to my extended mind ! I did never shew my selfe, lesse to bee my selfe, than in this dayes exigent ! This is He who measures Vertue for his meere peace and contentment, and not according to successe ; hee shewes not his liberality for observance, but peculiar satisfaction; for he imagines no greater infelicity, than to be miserable ; His promises are ever relatives with his performances : He scornes to dissemble with the World ; he never annoynted his tongue to enrich his fortunes. The perfect Idiome and Character of his Native Properties is already depicted ; I will illustrate this Mirrour of Vertues with Exemplary Mirrours, Professours of this Vertue : Reade but the ancient *Romane* Annals you shall see many renowned for Liberality, and in *Syracusa* too, for her Eminence and exquisite Government no lesse glorious. In *Rome* a *Fabius Maximus* : who willingly forgoes his Patrimony, to preserve his Countries reputation : *Secnim Patrimony, quam patriam fidei inopem*

The Liberall
mans Apho-
risme.

The Chara-
cter of a Libe-
rall man.

Examples of
Liberality.

inopem esse maluit. *Busa* no lesse renowned, and in this more to be observed, because a Woman, whose sexe implies a parsimony, relieving the poore distressed Romans (cought up in the Walls of *Canna*) making her selfe poor, to adde power (by her bounty) to the afflicted.

In these examples and expressions of Liberality, let this our *Warke* for that Pious Office which we desire to performe, returne to her former Method; addressing it selfe to a commemoration of so faire a Subject: with which, Princely and Noble Dispositions are most taken; and by which, those who depend on others bounty, are seasonably relieved.

Now, this excellent Vertue, or if you will, Ornament of Majesty, derives her Original (as may be probably gathered) from two especial Fountaines: *true Judgement* in discerning; and *charitable benevolence* in commiserating. For whensoever it springs from these, Bounty may ever give a reason of what it gives, and to whom it imparts it selfe. For though the greatnesse of the gift winne grace and love to the giver; yet the season or opportunity of giving makes it more effectually to the receiver.

That *Fabius*, whom we formerly remembred, shewed singular arguments of this bounty; whose example we the rather presse afresh, because the *Opportunity* of his bounty added to the estimate of it: The gift bestowed was but small, but the season made it great. A little summe of money enlarged the continuance of his memory. For

The bounteous dispositions of many noble Personages Historically amplified.

Examples of opportunate bounty, extracted from the Store-house of History.

having redeem'd at *Hannibals* hand, the liberty of such prisoners as had beene taken by him, in those Warres. When the City of *Rome* would not discharge that summe, for which he had articulated: he sent his owne Sonne to *Rome*, purposely to set at sale the whole Farme he had from his Ancestors. He valued little his owne Patrimony, in regard of the redemption of a Prisoners liberty; and so free his Countrey, whose fame he prized above Life, from breach of promise, and so deepe a brand of infamy.

Now, if we should account the price of what he gave, it was but small. This Hereditary Farme consisted but of seaven Acres, and those lying in *Papinia*: but when we consider the mind of the Giver, we shall find no masse of money so great, but it appeares greater. The Inheritance of his Predecessours must be set at sale, rather than his indeared Countrey suffer the least staine. He had rather lose his Farme, than shee should lose her Fame. Wherein he seemes by his noble endeavours to deserve greater commendation, shewing himselfe so willing to extend his bounty (in an act of such necessity) even to the utmost of his ability; farre out-stripping such, who give farre within their power, or from their superfluity: for whereas the One bestoweth what he may, the Other more than he may.

No Lines, were they never so full of Life and Memory, can sufficiently advance that aspiring Spirit of *Roman* Liberality; when after the overthrow

throw of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, all *Greece* assembled together to bewitnesses of such a Spectacle; *Quintus Flaminius* (of whom I shall occasionally speake hereafter) commanding silence by the sound of a Trumpet, commanded these words to be published by the Cryer: "The Senat, People, Questors of *Rome*, and *Quintus Flaminius* her Generall, command that all those Cities of *Greece*, which were under the late dominion of *Philip* shall enjoy all freedome and enfranchisement. Which wordswere no sooner heard, then those people taken with a great and unexpected joy, at first, as if they had not belev'd their owne cares, they kept silence. But when the same words were re-delivered by the Cryer, to enforce more credit in the Hearer, they deafned the Aire with such a shrill shout, as for certaine the very Birds which flew above them, amazed and ravished with the sound, fell from the Aire.

Surely, it was an argument of a nobly-disposed mind to free so many Captives from restraint, and to bestow the same liberty upon them, which the people of *Rome*, glorious by her many victories, had sometimes bestowed on their richest Cities. And to adde a greater lustre or majesty to that worke of bounty, it conduceth much to commemorate not onely the liberality of the Giver, but the free assent or approbation of the people to that Gift: for as there is a Commendation due to the act recorded, so likewise to the praise it selfe deservingly rendred.

But

But while *Rome* sends forth such noble Branches, who on so flourishing and fruitful a Mother bestowed all honour, her owne Munificence should not be buried in silence. And redound it will highly to her praise, to recount what a brave bounteous mind she shewed to Kings, Cities and Countries: seeing, the honour of every deserving action, the more it is revived, the more it spreadeth in beauty.

When *Rome* had taken all *Asia*, she bestow'd it as a gift upon King *Attalus*, to possesse; imagining, that the Sovereignty of her Imperiall City would appeare so much more glorious and specious, if she bestowed the richest and pleasantst part of the World for a benefit to another, rather than keepe it as a Store-house for her selfe. Especially, where the victory it selfe is the happiest gift: because, as to possesse much begett' envy, so to give of that we possesse, cannot want glory.

That bounteous and royall expression of victorious *Cyrus* to his successive Allies, deserves a due memory. Who, at such a time as he was to try Malteries for a Kingdome with his Grandfire *Asiages*, exhorted such as were his Assistants in that Warre, that they should with all alacrity go on in that Service: for if he prosperously succeeded in that fight, as the justnesse of his cause, the equity of the quarrell, and hopefull predictions by knowing Augurs assured nothing lesse: he would make Foote-men, Horse-men; and of Horse-men, Charrioters. Great mindes are not
for

It doth
with more
Majesty to
make Kings,
than to be a
King.
Val. Max. lib.
4. cap. 3.

for small gifts. Eminent Personages must ever second their quality with rich Presents.

The like disposition shewed *Lucullus* in his Princely entertainment to all such Persons of quality as repaired to him. Beautifull walkes he had to receive them; bountifull Tables to Feast them; choicest Consorts to converse with them; Melodious ayres to delight them; curious Pictures to entertaine them. Nothing so much disrelish'd him as to see his Hospitality want a Subject; or his desire to extend his bounty, an occasion to expresse it. Strangers could not there want for repose. A free welcome they receiv'd without being ever question'd from whence they came, or when they would goe. This differ'd far from that Adage:

*Guests of one Night stay may be kindly welcome,
Guests of a next night are not held so toothsome,
Guests of a third night are reputed noisome
To the Receiver.*

*Unius noctis
peramicus Hof-
pes,
Proxima gra-
tus minus est
Amicis,
Tertie vultus
patietur hostis
Dira minantis.*

This was that *L. Lucullus*, of whom *Cicero* reporteth, that when hee went from *Rome* to make Warre upon *Mithridates*, he was altogether unskillfull of Military affaires: yet in the time of his Navigation hee so experienc'd himselfe, as by the confession of the King, he was preferred aboue all others for judgement in Martiall service.

That bounteous mind of *Eustrapelus*, of whom that incomparable Lyrick makes such a free and

Hor.

genuine mention; deserves all esteeme. Those things, which our Age most fooles herselfe in, he with much sleightnesse gave away to his foes. A curious neat dresse could not so take him: nor the fashions of the time so delude him, but hee could with all indifferency forgo them: stripping himselfe of all occasion of being proud, to infatuate his profest foes with his pride.

But no bounty ever powr'd it selfe forth more freely, nor bestow'd it selfe more deservingly, than of that brave *Millanoise*; who profesting himselfe ever a constant Patron to the Muses; and falling casually into discourse with a Stranger, whose rich expressions (as he conceiv'd) discover'd him to be a Scholler: he desired much to heare the course of his Travaile: Who, to satisfie so just a demaund, related to him, amongst other passages, what cold entertainment hee had received, amongst many who profest themselves Favorites of Learning: but of one *Grande* above all the rest, where he no sooner repaired, then he was unhospitably dismissed. Leave hee tooke of him, and leave hee quickly gave him: which, to set forth the better to life he returned a brieve of his entertainmant in the'e Stanza's:

*Good leave I had, for none did me importune
To take my late repose, so as I found
Men shap'd their looks according to my fortune,
Which forced me to tra'ersing my ground
To find some place with my cond'ion sorting,
Where to retire but not to seeke reliefe,
I thought it fitt'st to descant on my grieve.*

And

And cause I had to grieve to see the time
 So much deprav'd, as I perceived than
 None could to Greatnesse but by Fortune clime,
 And that it was the meanes that made the man,
 Which I applide unto that Fate of mine ;
 Devising how to passe the night away, (day.
 Till th Morning Star should guide th'approaching

These Lines wrought so strongly upon that
 bounteously-disposed *Millanoise*, as commiserat-
 ing the Condition of a contemned Scholler, he
 returned him this Regreet. "It is true, Sir, De-
 "sert receives not alwayes entertainment ; for as
 "you shall encounter with some who cannot di-
 "stinguish of worth ; so you shall meete with o-
 "thers who will not acknowledge Worth, pur-
 "posely to spare their wealth. You shall not finde
 "all hearts so affected, nor all mens Judgments
 "so filmed. Remaine with me, Sir, and wel-
 "come ; Be a Commander, while you are heere a
 "Sojourner. I have a *Wardrobe* heere for the
 "Muses, if they be naked ; and a Place richly
 "endowed too, if for retirement they be dispo-
 "sed. Nothing shall be awanting to them, so
 "they be not awanting to themselves. It ha's
 "beene and ever shall be held mine highest Ho-
 "nour, to be esteemed worthy the entertainment
 "of a Scholler.

But we proceed in this Branch of our History,
 to other remarkable Instances for Liberality.

Quintus Considius (of all most memorable)

An Usurer never found his Countries Friend.

An Usurer bountifull against his will.

Examples of Bounty amongst the Syracusans.

an Usurer and Bountifull ; a blacke Swan was never rarer: the Pagan Usurer (it seemes) had a conscience, which our Christian Usurer wants: for in that bloody, and inhumane Conspiracy of *Castine*, second to none, our Moderne Counterbuffe, our Powder-treason excepted: hee remitted all his Debtors, laying his Bills and Bonds upon one pile, making a Bone-fire with them: where I make no question, but the Usurers continuall Customers, the Poët *Archias*, and his Echo, the Actor *Roscius* had reason to sweare: *Quod nunquam ignem vidissent clariorem*: That they never saw a clearer or more comfortable fire in all their dayes. It maybe *Considius* did this, because he saw the disability of his Debtors (for those Civill Commotions had much empoverished all Estates) and therefore in policy, once to expresse his bounty, thought it fittest to forgive them that, which they were not able to give. More worthy is the memory of *Quintius Flaminius*, who in an *Istnian* Triumph, in the presence of his Countries foe, the daring *Philip* of *Macedon*, redeemed such as were *Philips* Captives at his owne charge: Worthy our observation it is, willing to answer so publick Solemnity, with an universall-concording harmony, making such free Spectators, that were before in servitude.

The modest Prince *Hiero* of *Syracusa*, who in meere compassion of the slaughter of the *Romans*, at the Lake *Thrasimenus*, sent to the afflicted remnant of that wofull Army, three hundred Thousand Bushels of Wheate, two hundred of Barley,

ley, and two hundred and forty pound weight of Gold to relieve their wants, and manifest his royall bounty. I may annexe the memorable example of *Gillia* of *Agrigentum*, who was rich in Mines, but much more rich in minde, alwayes rather inclined to distribute than scrape: so as his house (and that not undeservedly) was called *Officina Munificentiae*, a Ware-house of Bounty; erecting Monuments for publick use, that the eyes of the people might be delighted with so gratefull spectacles: Here were prepared sumptuous Feasts, yeelding and ministring food, and all other necessaries for the sustaining Nature, to all way-faring men, bestowing dowers upon Maids, and reliefe to the poore, ministring plenty of comfort (out of his Royall Exchequer) to such as had sustained any detriment, or damage. To be brieft, hee kept open Hospitality, receiving five hundred *Celensian* Gentlemen at one time, by occasion of Tempest driven upon his Coast, which he fed at his owne Table; and at their departure royally adorned them with sumptuous Garments. To be short, thou wouldst not (saith our History) have taken him for any Mortall, for he was too liberall, but the very Bounties-bosome of propitious Fortune.

Thou hast seene these Examples of Liberality; I will now unrip thy owne Casket, and see what worthy Pictures thou hast lockt up in it. I see many bagges of mould, but not one ragge of Conscience: great Chests ramm'd up with inexorable barres, crammed with Avarice, Famine,

Planted is this City *Agrigentum*, on that flowry Mountaine *Agragasi*.

A Memorable Instance of Hospitality.

and Oppression. *Lucifer* is thy Treasurer, proving a faithfull servant : for hee will not cheate thee for a World, lest hee should lose his part of thee in the World to come. Thou committest to him the Keyes of thy Conscience ; which opens and shuts upon all occasions : Hee being one of thy Family, how canst thou chuse but be prosperous ? Yet beleeve me (thy end will be poore and miserable) not one of those many Angels thou possessest, like a good Angell, will guard, or give thee so much as the least taste of Comfort. I come not to instruct thee, like a Divine, but to illustrate my Assertions by Historicall Examples, which I have here placed before thee, to deterre thee from their life ; that thou mayest avoid their death.

Avarice, or (which is extended further) *Misery*, was best exemplified in *Hermon* ; who to deceive his owne friends, and deprive them of that which he made his God ; at his Death, made himselfe his owne Executor : This man would be loath to lose so precious a Friend ; Death must not part him and his Riches. No question but his Opinion was, hee might purchase himselfe a Tabernacle of rest with his rust : and translated from the vale of Earth, might erect himselfe a Mansion of pure Gold, for hee carryed the stufte with him. I could heere produce infinite other Examples, which, to avoid tediousnesse, I omit, and returne to our Discourse.

Miserable
ends of Mi-
sers.

History may yeeld no lesse profit to the Prodigall,

digall, who makes himselfe the last of his name; who no sooner (yea oft-times sooner) than he hath shut his Fathers eyes, opens his Fathers Chest, and wipes away the remembrance of his Fathers Death, with the *Evidence* and *Broad Seale* of his Fathers love: he had need of some direction.

Many of these are no sooner come to their Lands, than they run out of their Witts. They were sicke of a Father while hee lived; and now they live to become a prey to others, by whom they are more usually jeered than loved. Now, to display this brave Prodigalls humour, and render him in his true Colours; I shall not need to bestow much paines upon him, seeing the Satyre h'as already so exactly done it for him:

*Sad goes he to his Fathers Grave,
But glad does he returne,
For why! his baggs cram'd with re'd Laddis
Doe bid him cease to mourne.*

These easie Obsequies once done, he must of necessity fall into acquaintance with all those *Officious Creatures*, whose abilities conduce much to the making up of a Gentleman. He, who now stands resolv'd never to measure his owne expence, must be measur'd by his Taylor; accommodated by his sweet-sented Milliner; Bever'd by his Haberdasher; stand nearely indeared to his amorous Sempster. Having thus throwne away his *Sable dresse*, and suired himselfe *Cap a pe*
to

The Prodigalls humour displayed.

*Tristis adit tumulum, rediturus letior Hæretes,
Suscipit ut loculos are mlticantis suos.*

His Faunes or
Followers, his
Spunges.

to the fashion of the Time : He must have Faunes or Followers to sponge him. Such, in one word, as never knew what reputation meant ; nor were ever acquainted with what credit meant, farther than running on score. And these must be the Carvers out of his estate. Excellent Stewards to manage a fortune!

Now, if this Gentele Gallant set his rest for the City, the height of his ambition is to receive instruction from *Corranso's* and *Play-bills*. These Notions must regulate the whole course of his Living. Acquaintance he h'as got him ; and such as meane to *gull* him and *guelde* him of that wherewith his Father did *guild* him. For such is the misery of man, as he cannot endure to be scene in that place, where he is not best himselfe. Associates he h'as from all quarters of the World, and of all qualities, save good. Some Bilbow Blades he meetes withall, and those either for feare of an affront ; or purposely to make them his Champions upon occasions of quarrell, he makes *Guard le Corpse*. And these can humour him to an haire ; call him their *Anni-bal* : and that Title payes for all. If hee fall into acquaintance with a decayed Artist ; whose prodigall course h'as brought him to partake of Cheate. He will not sticke upon the very first Salute to become his *Ingle*. And this Honey-suckle must broake for him (being that wherewith he h'as beene from his Infancy vers'd) in counterfeit Jewels : and these must bee return'd to him for rich ones. For the *graines* of his discerning

discerning judgement were long since scattered: so as, he may rest secure for discovery.

To satisfie his Senses one Night, it must cost him as much as his Fathers care gathered in a whole yeare. But now after many unrighteous Bills discharg'd; the Moone beginnes to be i'th waine with him. His Exchequer in the Country, affords him no such fresh nor frequent supply for his Port, sport and support in the City, as it used to doe. For want then of other profits and emolluments, he must be forced to take up *Commodities*. Dainty trash to maintaine his traine! But nothing violent can be permanent: that Conduit is soone dryed up. In a word, hee never takes up with himselfe, till he be taken up by others. He was drunke all this time, and now *restrain* h'as brought him to himselfe, and made him suffer.

But if the Prodigalls humour be such, as it confines him to the Countrey, without any farther aspiring either to Court or City; because hee's no *Letterd* man, he h'as chosen to bestow his meanes upon the pleasures of *H* which is no *Letter*. His onely Discourse is in commendation of his *Hound*; from whom he differs onely in *Sent*; for coupled they might bee well together for *Sence*. His *Horse* cannot gallop faster in Chace, than hee out of his estate. His *Hanke* flies so high, as she lessens her selfe; which may serve for his Embleme: having flowne so long a flight, as he hath lessen'd himselfe both in credit and fortune: both which after a long mou-
X x
ting

ting, scatter abroad like Feathers in the Aire. His *Courtezan* (to close his illiterate Alphabet in one) h'as left him ; and vowes she cannot love him, because he h'as lost his wits : but indeed, the losse of his estate is the reason. Shee bids him for want of better maintenance, goe to an Hospitall ; and she at leasure will follow after : and no sooner than neede requires ; for as hee stands in neede of reliefe, so she of a Plaister.

Whence we may collect (though there be no necessary inference of any such Collection ; arising rather from the corruption of a youthfull vicious disposition) that a Fathers injurious doing, becomes oftentimes his Heires undoing ; the Fathers raising, the Sonnes ruine.

Oh let these young *Lapwings*, who leave their nest before they can finde wing, and make their pleasure a Labyrinth of Labour, looke homeward !

There be many mazes for the young man : I have knowne many exposed to all delights, and (as it were) sold under the gage of prostitution, who by Historicall observations have not onely reclaimed their former errour, but grew singular mirrours of purity. No question, if *Catiline*, whose mind was ever subjected to illimited affections, had but perused the excellent relations of his noble Predecessors, he had not beene onely able to extinguish that common and universall cumbustion, which his aspiring spirit raised to consume his whole Countrey ; but had beene memorable for his owne attchievements :
for

His Fathers
injurious do-
ings, his undo-
ing : his rais-
ing, his ruine.

The young
mans maze.

Our predeces-
sors vertues,
motives of
imitation.

for the best of *Roman* Historians (that I may use the Words of the best Commenter upon * *Crispus Salustus*) saw thus much into his disposition, that so long as he retired himselfe from those factious and mutinous spirits, *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, with others of that hatefull confort, none shewed himselfe a more profitable member to the Common-weale, or more ready to endanger himselfe for her availe ; imploying his time in serious discourses ; which not onely moderated his affections, but poised him to the equall ballance of a vertuous Discourse : which afterwards perverted by the depraved suggestions of those Ruffins, reduced those faire beginnings to nothing, and him to a miserable death, and perpetuall infamy.

The very same effect we see in all other Vices (which would be well extenuated) if vitious mindes would apply themselves to these, and the like Discourses : we should have our drunkards see into their owne shame, deblazoned by the *Epirotes* ; our Epicures by the ravenous *Vicellij* ; spending their fortunes in pampering their worst household servant ; our carnall Brothelists, by those impudent prostitutes in *Neroes* time, who were never weary of their shame, till their publicke filthinesse ingendred a loathing in the professours themselves : looke to these mens ends ! Oh, how long might I prosecute this argument without want of copious Discourse ! Here producing an *Heliogabilus*, generally hated for his insatiate Lust, and least pittied in that ebbe of

* *Quem pro-
prietatis ser-
vantissimum,
vocat Gellius.*

Histories best
discoverers of
our ours.

Instances of
famous de-
linguents.

his frailty (his miserable death) when men use most to be pittied, being attended at his funerals with Military reproaches: "Here goe we to bury a Dogge of distempered lusts: there, a wanton *Messalina*, rewarded with a death bebecoming her. Here, an aspiring *Sejanus*, shaken with an unexpected end, and made miserable in his best fortunes, interred with dry eyes: For who will pittie the fall of Ambition? There an *Herostratus* (memorable for nothing but villany) purchasing by his fame an infamous end. Here, a bloody *Perillus*, expert in the invention of cruell Projects, punished with the Torture of his owne Invention: There, a fleeing Parasite, who circumvents himselfe with his owne policy.

Such exemplary motives be frequent in Histories, and able in themselves (if duly pondered) to enforce Nature from her selfe, and reduce Man, primarily addicted to this or that Vice, to a consideration of his owne estate, wisely foreseeing his owne danger by others misery; wisely; Cautioning the young man to levell his affections at another scope, than the depraved intendments of the time wherein he liveth; making difference betwixt sence and reason: the one common to Beasts with men: the other a dis-junct propriety onely to man from beasts: For reason, the directresse of our understanding, the limiter of our affections within honest bounds, the Touch-stone to dijudicate what is good, from what is ill, the intellectuall Notion of the soule, should

History the best Touch-stone to dijudicate twixt what is good and ill.

should be ever the conductor of our fancies; which is best shown, when (*Antomedon*-like) we can delineate Vertue in no better shadow, than the Tablet of our owne Hearts; expressing our selves the best by that, which makes our selves the best, to wit, in prosecuting Vertue with an earnestnesse, that in the end we may become Masters of our selves, governours of our affections, and right Siegniors over our in-disposed Fancies.

How to bee
Masters over
our selves.

What admirable Effects have bin and may be drawne from *History*, to subdue and regulate our affections, who is he knoweth not, presupposing him conversant in such generous studies? This may be easily gathered by that very heat or vertuous emulation we shall find even in our selves, upon perusal of others commendable actions. For as we are allured by the beauty of goodnesse, to desire nothing more then to be possessed of it: knowing, no outward beauty comparable to it; so are we deterred from shewing any affection to vice, for the deformity of it: and these odious fruits which burgen from it.

Admirable
effects
drawne from
History, in
subduing our
affections.

Lais, though of all *Greek* Curtezans, none more comely, came far short of *vertue* for true beauty: and *Nais*, though none more ougly, came nothing neare *vice* for her deformity.

When the *Carthage* Queene heard the sad Relation of that amorous *Trojan*, touching all those Tragicke passages during the siege and destruction of *Troy*, she could not take a Survey of such a discourse without the attendance of some Prince-

ly compassionate teares. Such strong impressions beare others actions in the Theatral Act of this Life.

But to apply receipts to every distinct malady; and by Historicall helps minister to every severall sore a soveraigne remedy; tell me, you *Judicious Readers of Historie*, is there any distemper whercof you labour, which you shall not find chased and chasticed by some Historicall Example! Yea, answer me in all or any of these, if at any time you find your selves pestred with any of these, if Receipts (according to the quality of those distempers) may not be found out for a reasonable cure of these!

Doth *vaine-glory* transport you; that Spirit of Pride which makes man forgetfull of himselfe? you shall find in *History*, many Examples to deterre you from it. You shall there, as in a transparent Mirror, behold the *Lydian Crasus* sitting in his chaire of State, beautif'd with the exquisitest accomplements that the Majesty of a King could put on; and Him you shall heare thus Enthroned, thus adorned, asking a wise Sage (to discover his folly the more) if ever he beheld a more beautefull or gracefull Spectacle? And you shall heare this vaine piece of Princely Pompe jeered to his face. "Yes, sayes he, Dunghill Cokes, Phefants, Peacockes: for these are cloathed with a native beauty, whereas yours is but a borrowed glory. Whence, you shall find that Sentence of *Alexander* rightly verified: "Every foole is carried away with arrogance and applause. You

No Malady but may finde a receipt to cure her, or allay her distemper by the helpe of History.

Diog.
Laert.

Alexand.

You shall likewise heare *Antiochus* (to illustrate more fully the misery of *vaine-glory*) at one time saluted a glorious Prince, and a furious Tyrant.

Againe, are you naturally addicted to that Groundling vice of *Avarice*? you shall find what brave contempt of riches appeared in Ethnick Breasts. This you may find portraide to life in a *Phocion, Solon, Crates, Anacharses, Cimon, Timon, Fabritius*. Nothing held These to be more contemptible, then what true wisdome most contemned.

Or stand you enthralled to *Passion*, which makes the wisest man a Bedlamer for the instant? You shall find excellent meanes to attemper this commotion. Lessons given by Pagans unto Pagans, and worthy to be left for golden Legacies by Christians unto Christians.

That wise *Atbenodorus*, departing from *Augustus*, and taking his leave, to expresse a Philosophers love, left this Lesson with him, deserving well to be imprinted by him; *That when he was angry, or intended to pronounce any sentence upon a delinquent; he should repeat the foure and twenty Greeke letters*. Which lesson *Casar* received as an ornament, in value more precious then a Diadem.

You shall likewise find an *Architas* no lesse commended; hearing him least expresse it, when most incensed. If he find his Hinde idling, he can keep his patience, and discreetly admonish him: *O how would I have beaten thee, had I not bin angry with thee!*

Or

Or doth that rankling vice, *Envy*, eating up the heart and marrow of her Master, seize on you? you shall heare what a brave Platonicke Common-weale 'sometimes flourished, when that Law of Nature, holding possession of all things in common, was in request.

Before *Carthage* was destroyed, *Rome* both quietly and modestly govern'd her affaires. There was no contending nor contesting for glory nor commaund amongst her Citizens; they guided all things peaceably, and succeeded in all things prosperously. That antient *Kings-evil*, desire of raigning and invading had not as then infected them. Whence you may truly collect, by application had to these present times, what that glorious Divine out of his owne Experience sometimes observed, "If these two Pronouns *MINE* and *THINE* would but cease, there would not arise such differences in the world.

Si duo ista Pronomina Meum & Tuum essent, non essent tot discordia in mundo. Sicut. de Contempt. Mundi.

Or if a Liquorish *appetite* captivate reason, you shall read in a *Laconian*, what moderation would suite well with a *Christian*. Here you may find a whole *Pythagorean* state: nothing more affected then Moderation; nothing lesse relishing then licentious surfeiting.

Or if unbounded *Sensuality* wanton in you: you shall find what you want, exemplified in a *Zeno*, a *Zenocrates*; and not only in Philosophers, but victorious Princes. Where you shall see brave *Cleopatra* (one who sometimes bare a Majesticall Sovereignty in her eye; and could insult over a Prince with a scornfull looke, and make him her

her slave with a smile) kneeling at the feet of *Cæsar*, laying baits for his eyes; but in vaine: her beauties were beneath that Princes chastity.

Or desire you to be retir'd, or to feed your remisse Spirits with *Sloth*? Oh what spurs you shall find to quicken your dulled and rebaited courage? what animosity in those who were mannagers of Martiall affaires? what industry in all Arts and Sciences? what deliberation in undertaking, what resolution in executing?

Lucullus cannot enjoy himselfe in his owne Tent. A noble Spirit ever finds it selfe active for employment.

Thus shall you find presented before you, whatsoever may in the homely habit of *Vertue* allure you: or whatsoever cloathed with the odious visage of *vice* may deterre you. Nor is it possible to find out any Morall way better to regulate or marshall your affections, than by a serious Survey had, and usefull application made of these Histori-
ricall relations.

But to come more neare thee in this second part of my Division, we must distinguish of the severall *fruits* and *effects* of History, directed to peculiar ends: As first, art thou a Lover, and desirest to complement with thy beloved? Thou art in a dangerous way, and if thou wisely select not such Histories, as may (like soveraignes) rather allay and moderate thy braine-sick passion, than kindle the fire of thy senselesse reason, be lulled with nightly apparitions of thy beloved faire one, to what exorbitances shalt thou be

made subject? But I know the Nature of thy sicknesse: thou art like one who hath taken poyson; and though Drinke be mortall to him, yet he longeth out of all measure for it. There is no Subject so fitting thy humour, as amorous Sonnets, Historiall Relations, carolling out the discontents of unsatisfied love.

Leander swimming over *Hellepont*, to crop a blossome already cropped. *Achylles* retiring discontented for the losse of his *Briseis*, *Agamemnon* for his *Chryseis*: these are Subjects for thy Love-sick Fancy; whereas opposites to Love, (Morall Relations, instructing thee in a more equall and reasonable path) would better cure thy disease, and bring thee to an understanding of thy selfe. Absence (wee say) from our Mistresse, makes us most forgetfull of her; and least we thinke of her when wee discourse of Arguments least concerning her; whilst reading Idle Pamphlets, the very bane and canker of Youth, and Age too: for Age is as subject to Dotage, as Youth to Fancy; putting us in mind of our former distracting passions, crying: *Nec me minor urges Amor*: with hard-hearted Mistresse, inconstant Dame, fickle in affection, inconstant in thy Resolution! shedding as many teares as would drowne his Mistresse, if she were not so light, as she is able to beare herselfe above water. Alas poore Lover! and whereto so many fruitlesse wiles, so discomfortable laments, so discordant Echo's of redoubled sighes, *Aye me unhappy?* Thou knowest not how these reasonlesse perturba-

Passions proceeding from
braine-sicke
Lovers, &c.

A Lovers E-
pithets.

perturbations make thee more loathed than loved, more intranced than fancied; and more beleagred with passions anew, than to salve those passions wherewith thou wer't tormented of old.

Read the continent Life of *Zenocrates*, dedicated wholly to Chastity; not a *Lais* (though never so motive) can induce him to gage his reputation to a Harlot. Read me the noble disposition of *Scipio African*, who scorn'd to make himsef a Slave to his fancy: the royall mind of that potent *Alexander*, who would not captive his affection to his Captive: the undestained Resolution of the Matron *Antonia*, Wife to *Drusus*: that chaste Tragedian *Sophocles*, who being demanded, whether hee ever applyed his mind to sensuall affections, replyed; *Dij meliora*: "Heaven forefend, a Strumpet should put on a "Tragick Buskin. These continent Relations will reduce thy stragling motions to a more settled and retired harbour.

And surely, did we but know what *Honour* takes her repose in so sweet an *Harbour*; wee would soone strike Anchor. First then, wee will here shew to you what *Honour* is to be ascribed to *Continnence*. How much the very Pagans (whose desires onely clos'd in Morall Honesty) valued this precious Jemme. How votive Virgins chused rather to be deprived of Life, than of their Honour. And how those who violated that religious Vow, suffer'd the very extreamest kind of Censure: Whereof *Campus Martius* was ever

Looke upon the History of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

Vid. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 30.

Here he shews what honour is to be ascribed to *Continnence*.

vid. Var. Val.
Max. Gell.
Strab. &c.

made the Tragick Theatre, I leave to those who have writ amply of that Subject.

Memorable is the Story of that noble Lady *Armenia*, who being bidden to King *Cyrus* Wedding, went thither with her Husband: at Night when they were returned home, her Husband asked her, how she liked the Bridegroom; whether she thought him to be a faire and beautifull Prince or no? "In truth, said she, I know not: "for all the while I was forth, I cast mine eyes "upon none other but upon thy selfe.

One of *Hiero's* Enemies reproaching him with a stinking breath, went home and questioned his Wife why shee told him nothing thereof: but what was her Reply? "I thought, quoth she, all "men had the same favour.

To continue the Memory of their Conjugall Constancy and Nuptiall Continnence, you shall ever in these Creatures of the weaker Sexe, finde admirable Motives both for Instruction and Imitation.

Canuia, Wife to *Synattus*, whom one *Synoris*, a man of greater Authority than he, loved; and making no small meanes by prayer, price, and power to obtaine her love, yet all in vaine; supposed the readiest way for the effecting his desires to be the murd'ring of her Husband: which he performed: and no sooner executed, than hee renewed his Suite, to which she seemed to assent. But being solemnely come into the Temple of *Diana* for the celebrating those Nuptiall Rites, she had a sweet potion ready which she drunke to

Synoris :

Synoris : wherewith they both were poisoned, to revenge her Husbands death.

The like admirable Constancy shew'd *Theogena* Wife to *Agasthocles*, in her Husbands greatest misery; approving her selfe most his owne, when hee was relinquish't and forsaken of his owne: promising him, that she would not partake with him onely in prosperity, but in what fortune soever should befall him.

That constant Loyalty, and royall Continency of the incomparable *Zenobia* to her Husband *Odonatus* (though a Barbarian Queene) cannot be too much admired; her Zeale shee exprest not onely to him living, but dying. No Monument she held fit to containe his Corpse but her owne body; that carrying his shrine still about her (being what she could not remove from her) shee might ever reteine him in her memory. But no question, her princely affection to *History* had highly increased in her this Loyalty. For by her reading of others what appeared in others so truly commendable, with a pious ambition shee aspired to an imitation thereof in her selfe.

The Women of *India* (whether wonne with strength of Custome, or Conjugall Devotion) when any of their Husbands dyeth, are wont to fall into Contention through the vehemency of their affection, which of them (for they are permitted to have many Wives) hee loved best in his life: Shee that winneth, being very joyfull (a great Company of her Friends and Kinsfolke following her, to celebrate her funerall honour)

is cast into the fire with her dead Husband.

But every *Crates* must not looke to be *Polycrates*: such Cognizants must not be for every mans sleeve. That Sentence ever deserves approvement: "As there is a pleasure in loving those to whom we are espoused, living; so it is an office of piety to honour them dying. Their life injoynes us to be true to their Bed, their Death exacts no lesse to their memory.

Nor is this *Continnence* held onely in esteeme with those who partake of Reason: for even such Creatures as are led by Sense, are no lesse jealous of their Love, nor lesse speedy in revenging Lust: which may be confirmed by this Example.

A certaine libidinous Citizen dwelling in the Towne of *Sybaris*, bounding upon the River *Crathis*, so monstruously and unnaturally raged in the heate of immoderate Lust, as on a time, neglecting all humanity, to extinguish the violent flames of his bestiall affection, came to a Shee-goat and coupled with her; which the High-goat, as one seeing, yet reserving revenge for a fitter time, he found this *Sybarite* one day fast asleepe; wherefore to redresse the injury of his corrupted Love, and revenge the horror of his detested Lust, he presently set upon him, and mall'd him to death with his horns.

But to close all in one; what *Honour* the Ancient *Romans* with other Ethnicks, ascribed to *Continnence*: and how much they scorned that the least blemish should be aspersed on their House in that kind, may be made as cleare as light by

that

The History calls him *Crathis*, from the River (as may be supposed) neare which he inhabited.

that memorable Example of *Virginus*. The Story is thus. *Virginus*, one of a *Plebeian* descent, but of a *Patritian* spirit, lest his House should be dishonoured, spared not his owne blood. For when *Appius Claudius*, one of the *Decem-viri*, sought with strong hand to deflower his Daughter, being a Virgin, *Virginus* brought her into the Market-place, and there kill'd her, chusing rather to be her Murtherer, undefiled, than her Father, deflowred.

Val. Max. lib. 6
cap. 1.

Now, having showne you the Honour due to *Continence*; I would have you in the second place to consider, how soone a precious Name is lost: and with what difficulty regam'd. It is not sufficient for you to refraine onely from doing ill, but from doing ought that may be suspected for ill. Variety of Examples you shall finde every where in this kind. A Name highly priz'd, and quickly lost: and being lost, not the wealth of the *Indies* could redceme.

How soone a
precious name
is lost; with
what difficul-
ty re-gain'd.

Thirdly, reflect upon the pleasure how short it is: and of the purchase, what shame it is. *Demosthenes* could answer *Lais*'s deare demmand for so short a pleasure, "I will not buy Repentance at so deare a rate. And a farre more precious gage he had to lose, if an *Ethnick* light could have mounted so high. With the like Answer sleight every light Courtezans proffer; ascribing to that inestimable Jewell of *Continence* all due Honour.

The pleasure
short; the pur-
chase shame.

But yet I must proceed further, art thou *Ambitious*, and hast both wings and will to flye? Thou art soaring with *Icarus*, and thy waxen wings

wings (no question) must be dissolved with *Icarus*: he gave a Sea a name; but thou hast a Sea in thine owne braine; thou art floting, and (*Camelion*-like) feedest upon the aire of thine owne fancy: Thou art now for building a second *Pyramides* in the aire; and no doubt but thou wouldst perfect thy intentions, if death prevent thee not.

Thou art a vaine Foole, thou seest many worthy honouring, daily declining; merits undeserving, raised to height above themselves: not a Senator, or sage Purple Father, but subjected to an undeserving censure: and what is the cause? Why, honour procureth censure; and yet thou art well, served well, safely retired, not envied, nor maligned by the opposites of greatnesse; and yet thou desirest (like another *Phabus*) to shine in the eye of the Court, to shew thine owne admiration by a vaine flourish, commenting on thine owne perfections, which need some Exposition: for they cannot demonstrate themselves. Alas, how strangely art thou transported above thy selfe! not apprehending how the meanes of rising oft-times procure an unexpected fall. Consider thy owne unbridled desires, and seeke to repressse them, I pray thee doe; and take this observance with thee: Never looke into either moderne Histories or Ancient, for the projects, how they grounded the foundation of their plots; but aime at the end and event of their designs, what issue they had: there thou shalt see a *Cesar* reigne long, and attaine the very height of his hopes; yet his continuance abridged, and his

his new-established Monarchy (in himselfe) quite ruinate in a stabbe. Here a *Sejanus* (who was *Ferox sceleris*) a great hunter after cruelty, become the last of his aspiring desires, and the sponge (as *Tacitus* observeth) who being squized, only enriched his Emperours fortunes, and made himselfe miserable by his owne fall: for Ambitious men, who leap to greatnesse, for the most part, hoppe without heads, and too late repent their madnesse.

The fall of
Parasites.

TO run over every Vice particularly, would require a Treatise ampler of themselves, then I have allotted my selfe. Proceed I must to my third branch, *The particular profit which redounds to every private state or family, from discourses of this nature.* I know that the natural depravation of Man is such, as that he fixeth his mind upon that, which (for the most part) conferres least profit, and most delight: this is lively exemplified even in Historical Discourses; where we shall see men (for the most part) rather addicted to fabulous Travailes, the Survey of strange and never-heard of Ilands, prodigious sights, Monsters, Chymera's, and meere imaginary fancies, then to such narrations as might minister instruction and benefit to every particular Reader. Some we see delighted with the strange and incredible miracles of *Mandevill*: others with the victorious combats of our *Bevis of Southampton*: others, more conversant with

Third Branch,
Particular
profit drawne
from History
to particular
persons.

What fabu-
lous Histories
more sullered
than approved.

the Tragick Histories of our time (prodigies in part meerely invented.) And last of all (which in my judgement is worst of all) others with the phantastick writings of some supposed Knights; (*Don Quixotte* Transformed into a Knight with the *Golden Pestle*) with many other fruitlesse inventions, moulded only for delight without profit. These Histories I altogether exclude my *Oeconomy*, or private Family; I have culd out more beneficiall Discourses for youth to employ themselves withall; producing a subject from the pure Cabinet of Truth: not from the braine of every Quack-salver, that runs out his inventions by selling lyes at grosse-sale.

TO expresse our *Latine* Authors I need not, so much is our Country benefited by Translators, as the Neat-heard in his Hovell may discourse as well of *Cornelius Tacitus* (if he know his mothers tongue) as our best *Latinists*. In my opinion no Argument better for instruction then that Author: and if I should dwell upon one, I had rather insit upon his phrases (though seemingly perplexed) then any other *Roman* Author; how perspicuous soever.

Tranquillus writes true, but he unrips the immodesties of the time with too long discourse up nevery particular vice. Nothing (sayth *Quintilian*) can be esteemed more perfect, then the elegancy an brevity of *Salusts* perle (*Presertim apud Romanos* & *cred* *in* *reces*) and I assent to his opi-

A witty invention, but full of distraction.

vid. in viii. c. ror.

opinion; the singularity of his phrase was (which may seeme strange) without affectation: so *Aulius Gellius* (a very *Aristarchus* for the search of Antiquities) testifieth of him. Neither *Fabius* affraid to entitle him, *The chiefe of the Roman Historians*, as *Thucidides* the Prince of the *Grecians*. Yet in these Histories there is an exactnesse of understanding required; and more doe their writings conduce to State-affaires, then private and Domestick employment.

Now, to deliver our judgement of divers approved Historians: extracted from the best Authors: *Titus Livius*, by the testimony of *Phil. Commynes*, as he is to this day had in great honour by the *Italians*, who retaine still a forme of the Antient *Roman* Government, and that in some poynts most exactly; describes in a sweete and well-composed Style, how that flourishing Empire (which afterwards swallowed up many eminent States) sprung up at first, how it increased, what was done commendably, what viciously, during the whole progresse of her rising; till labouring of her owne weight, and prest downe with her owne Grandeure, her full light fell to be eclyps'd, her height to a declining. Of this Historian, I have spoke in many places; yet me thinkes there is still something omitted that might bee properly annexed for an additament to his praise.

Right well I know (to close in opinion with *Erasmus*) "that there is no reading more accom-
"modate, no Discourse better suiting men of
"quality

*Aul. Gell. in
NoB. Attic.*

His Judge-
ment of divers
approved Hi-
storians; extra-
cted from the
best Authors.

“ quality than that of *History*; amongst which
 “ *Titus Livius* holds the prime place (I speake of
 “ Latine Historians onely) especially, seeing no
 “ thing is extant of *Salusts*, but onely two frag-
 “ ments.

In his judgement, then, as no Discourse is more
 requisitely familiar than with Historians; so he
 hold *Livie* to be the Prince of all Latine Histori-
 ans: and fittest to be a Gentlemans acquaintance.
 Great, no question, was his modesty; his owne
 Workes may confirme it: “ Whether (saith he)
 “ I shall performe that Taske which may seeme
 “ worthy my Labour, if I relate whatsoever hath
 “ beene done by the people of *Rome* from the
 “ first foundation of that City, neither doe
 “ I sufficiently know, neither if I did know, durst
 “ I attempt such an enterprise.

And yet he proceeded in that Labour, and
 perfected it with great honour: albeit, his pious
 feare exprest the sweetnesse of his temper. Nei-
 ther fell he short in Sincerity, though he seeming-
 ly pretended a feare, which implide his mode-
 sty. For what is rare in Historians, (especially,
 writing of Princes and their Actions, in their
 owne times) hee was never taxed of partiality,
 nor mincing truth: were the Personages of
 whom he wrote never so great, nor authority
 in office high.

A Subject, indeed, never worthy the penne of
 of so deserving an Historian; nor could possibly
 have: nor more variety of actions both in a
 calme and troubled State. And though Authors
 in

in their arguments of Discourse and Histori-
 Relation finde ever the largest fields to walke
 in, to be fields of blood: where no day can passe
 without some notable action deserving the
 memory of a succeeding age; yet in that time and
 state wherein he bestowed his paines, the reti-
 redst houres from imployment afforded him an
 occasion of delivering some Observation or o-
 ther worthy the approvement of a judicious
 Eye.

For his Style (as I have else-where noted) it
 was nothing so darke nor concise as that of *Ta-
 citus*. The former more dilated; the latter more
 contracted. Both serious; the latter more sen-
 tentious. These ground the first face or foun-
 dation of a State upon Lawes; and they shew
 with what obedience those were observed in
 their infancy. *Romulus* and *Remus* were both
 builders; the one materiall, the other mentall.
Numa begot in His both love and loyalty, by
 bringing His to understand themselves legally.
 Now, no sooner have they planted a State, then
 they beginne to strengthen it with Actions. De-
 sire of Command calls them abroad. Their Po-
 wers must be levied, Commanders elected, and
 those Wars made sinnewy and strong, that some
 exploit worthy the name of such a Nation may
 be performed.

And having now presented the body of a
 State in her full growth, they shew what is done,
 not without due attributes to them, by whom
 those actions were done. They runne into com-

mendation of those Agents of Valour, and they conclude ; “ Such as the Captaine is, such is the
 “ Souldier. They bring in *Scipio*, who used
 to have this Sentence in his mouth : “ That easie,
 “ favourable & affable Captaines were profitable
 “ to the enemy, which though they were beloved
 “ of their Souldiers, yet they set little by them.
 This, so wise and experiens^t a Commander could
 not chuse but make good use of : for the obe-
 dience of *Scipio*'s Souldiers towards their Ge-
 nerall is confirmed by his owne attestation : “ So
 “ observant were mine of whatsoever I com-
 “ manded them, that if I had them clime to the
 “ toppe of a Tower, and from thence throw
 “ themselves head-long into the Sea, there
 “ was not one of them but would obey me.

There is no passage to enliven the Spirit of a
 Souldier, which these omit : and all these cou-
 ched in so Princely a Style, as without affecta-
 tion, it comprehends much State. In a word, time
 shall sooner cease to breath, than posterity to
 breath their fame.

For the Epitomes of these, as *Luc. Florus* and
 others ; me thinkes they may bee compared to
 short Commons. They doe well so farre as
 they goe ; but they leave the Reader still with a
 strong Appetite. Something is ever omit-
 ted, which leaves the Stomacke craving and un-
 satisfide.

It is true indeede, that such Collections are
 usefull for memory: like briefe Notes or Diaries,
 which we carry about with us : And for ordina-
 nary

*Nullus est ho-
 ium qui non
 conscensu tur-
 ni, semel in
 mare precipi-
 tat in us sit,
 si iussit.
 Plur.*

nary Discourse, will serve well enough. But a Schollers Historicall Taske is of more difficulty, than to receive life and spirit from an Epitome.

The judiciousst and most compendious Epitomizer breathing, should be Analike an entire History; and after many serious re-views and recollections, contract the whole body thereof into a brieft Methodicall Compendiary: So farre short should he find himselfe fall from the mind of the Author: as upon the next re-view, he would ingenuously confesse, that he had rather runne over him, than conversed with him.

For *Gellius*, his Discourse rather falls upon Philosophicall argumentation, than any Historicall relation. Winter Nights you shall finde there well bestowed. And he Styles them *Athenian Nights*, to expresse how those Studies with which *Athens* most flourished, were there sociably debated, Scholasticallly argued, and judiciously composed. Some Pieces of Naturall History are heere and there interveined, which may minister occasion both of profit and delight to such as shall seriously peruse them.

Touching *Valerius Maximus*, his writings stand more upon *Apothegmes* than *History*. He takes Survey of such especiall Vertues and Vices as pressed most upon those times. Wherein, he recommends to posterity such memorabill Persons as were Mirrours for the practise of the One; and rigid Censurs in punishing the Other. He discovers nothing but by example; a moving
kind

kinde of perswasion for imitation of goodnesse; and aversion from whatsoever is evill.

Quintus Curtius, his Sceane is single: his whole Discourse consists mainly upon the actions of one Prince; yet many pleasant and remarkable passages shall you finde in the Princely progresse of his life. A brave spirit displayed in every action. One, who knew how to vanquish; and how to moderate his felicity. One, who if he were not what he was, could chuse with all his heart to be a poor Philosopher. One, who amidst his Military affaires, and managements of State, would deagne to talke with learning: purposely to improve himselfe as well in Arts as Armes. Never Prince by his power could doe more, and by a sweet attemprature of his command, revengelesse.

Megabizes esteemed *Alexander* as a Prince whilst he stood in his Schoole and said nothing, but when hee began to talke of things which he knew not: he said unto him, that "Even his little Children would laugh him to scorne. This affront could that great Commander beare with a Princely patience: and labour by his owne endeavour, and the instruction of an incomparable Master, to redeme his ignorance.

Though a Cynick teach him mortality in an homely manner: and encounter him with mouldred Sculls in his triumph to his Countrey; he will scarcely reprove him for it, but usefully apply it, and benefit more by it, than by all those Nations he had conquered.

Yet must his *Errours* be touched, that the sincerity of an Historian may become approved. His easie inclining to *Lais* lay no small taint nor tincture on his honour; that the counsell of a Wanton should get the Conquest of such a Conquerour.

Velleius Paterculus, as he was no lesse elegant in his Style, than sinnowey and substantial in that Subject whereof he treated; may be justly be-moaned, that the injury of time should leave such maimes in his Workes: as no mention at all is made of all those glorious actions and memorable exploits of the *Romans*, from the very prime foundation of the City, till the ruine of the *Macedonian* Kingdome, by *Amilius*, during the space of five hundred yeares or more. So as, what now remains extant of him, shewes him not so full, as to the *halse Body*: nor that neither in his owne native lustre and beauty. In a word, unhappy was he in his mutilation, more unhappy in his Translation.

For *Iosephus*, that sincere relater of the Jewish Warres, I shall take occasion presently to speake of him; give mee leave onely to render him that commendation which *Constantine* the Emperour was sometimes pleased to bestow on so noble and faithfull an Historian: "As his life
"deserved perpetuall praise, so his death eternall
"honour.

Touching *Appianus Alexandrinus* in his Discourse of the *Romane* affaires, in my judgement he shewes both wit and strength in his Lines.

Not a pleatant passage but merits approvement from his Pen. None more serious, when he desires to be weighty; none more delightfull, when the Subject admits a freedom to be witty.

For our Greeke Ethnick Historians (for of those Ecclesiasticall Writers, we shall speake of them in their due place;) none comparable to *Platarch* for Historicall Morality; nor to *Thucydides*, for State and Majesty; nor to *Herodotus*, for Method and Perspecuity; nor to *Herodian*, for a quick and active Discovery; nor to *Zenophon*, for a rich Philosophicall Delivery. Where every Sentence workes strongly on the Sence, and begets some new Principle of Experience.

But these, as I observed, wrote onely upon the Actions of those times, with the quality of the Persons interessed in those Actions: being both for matter of Discipline and service estranged from us, and consequently reteine lesse affinity with us. Yet of singular use (if discretion be had for severing the chaffe from the pure graine) both for instruction and exemplary direction to these times.

I will retire my selfe to such as may yeeld the Reader no little profit by consideration had to the judgments of God; modestly mixing Morall instructions with a sweet variety of Divine discourse: a matter which may seeme directly opposite to my first intencion, but is not so; for these Histories which I meane to produce, are so grounded upon infallible truths, as in that respect

spect they may seeme to merit a morally-Divine Title. *Iosephus* works I especially entertaine into my Family, as best describers of the judgments of God, expressers to the life, of an obdurate and stiffe-necked generation. Here to behold the incomparable beauty of that glorious Temple (the type of the Coelestiall Temple) founded by that wisest of men, and that peace of Princes, *Salomon*, defaced, and that City which was once called, *The City of the great King*, demolished, and layd levell with the ground. Then to direct our Eye to the wonderfull judgments of God in raising civill discords, and mutinies amongst the *Jewes* themselves, the greatest meanes of their subversion, the maine predictions of their ruine and utter destruction, before these warres came upon them; yet their impieties not a whit lessened, their arme of sinne shortned, nor remorse of conscience excited: no refuge to the Religious, but defence to the wicked in every place of the City ministred. Then Survey the pollution of that Sacred Temple, where Altars were once Erected, Peace-offering sacrificed, and the Prayers of the holy Consecrated to God; there nought but effusion of bloud, slaughters among themselves (an Occurrent remarkable) committing no lesse Massacres upon themselves in the ceasing of Warre, then the *Romans* did in the heat of warre: being wholly exposed to Tyrannicall Factions in the City; to expose themselves to *Roman* servitude more easily. These examples of Gods Justice, are worthy our Observa-

Iosephus commended.

Circumstances in the *Jewish* Warre give an excellent beauty to the Discourse.

Vespasian is said to have his Tents there first pitched where our Saviour was taken.

In *Montem Ciliarum Castrametans*, &c.

The judgment
of God in that
History most
remarkable.

tion, to admonish us of our peculiar duties, careful how we offend, serious in the administration of Justice: For how should we think he will spare the wilde Vine, that hath thus dealt with his owne naturall Vine? When he hath dealt thus with the Greene Tree, what will he do with the Dry Tree? That Vine was planted with his owne Hand, watered with the dew of his especiall favours from Heaven, dressed and pruned, yet behold the wilde Boare hath rooted it up: *Et seges est ubi Troia fuit.*

The truth of that History is soundoubted, as besides his owne concordance in relating, there is none that ever made question of the Truth and Verity thereof, composing what he wrote, not by report of Others, who speake (for most part) as they are affected, but by the approbation of his owne Eyes, the best outward directresses to inward knowledge.

Divine Histories.

To this Noble Historian (for he was Nobly Discended) I may adde those excellent Greeke Writers, worthy and memorable: as *Nicephorus, Evagoras, Socrates, &c.* For their Divine Examples plentifull, the successē of the Christians amidst the tyrannies of the cruellest Emperours wonderfull: the diverse sorts of torments by those Tyrants invented, pittifull; and the dismall and terrible end of those Blood-suckers, fearefull. Here thou shalt see an *Herod* transported above himselfe, with the acclamation of his people: *Not the voyce of Man, but of God.*: And presently behold his pompe converted into loath-

Insolency punished.

loathsomnesse, his preceedent joy to a subsequent penitiveness, and the excellency of admiration to a suddaine amazednesse; he that seemed before a God; and now by God made the miserablest of Man; forlorne and dejected: nay, if we would observe the whole current of their Histories, we shall see in them that God ever used to recompence the Offendour with a punishment of the like nature: *Nicephorus* reports, how *Herodias* daughter having begged the head of *John Baptist*, chanced on a time to go over a main river, frozen over with Ice, where the Ice presently parting received her, and meeting againe cut off her head; a true and evident Testimony of Gods judgment.

An excellent Example.

Punishment alluding to the condition of the fact.

As for the like of that blasphemous wretch *Julian*, a foule-mouth'd detractor from the glory of God: who on a time mocked a Christian for talking reverently of the bowels of *CHRISTS* compassions: But what end came of this miserable Atheist? His bowels fell out of his belly, being thrust through with a Javeling, confessing the power of God with a regreate, saying: *Vicisti O Galilee!* &c. yet vouchsafing to bestow no better name on him, then *Galilean*, a fearefull end of a most prophane Blasphemer.

Blasphemy punished.

The like of *Dioclesian* that cruell Emperour (and a great persecutor of the Christians) who, whilst he raign'd seemed little or nothing to feare the Divine power of Heaven; yet the History records, that Feare was the greatest occasion of his death; no, that he died by a voluntary feare,

very jealous of the Aire, lest it should pierce his Braine.

The like of *Maximinus*, who at that time raged in the East, as *Maxentius* did in the West. Of whose Cruelties to returne a full Catalogue, would require an ampler Discourse than I have reserved for him. Hee, I say, who accumulated upon himselfe these Titles: "Emperour *Cæsar*,
" *Maximinus*, puissant, magnificent, Chiefe
" Lord, Lord of *Thebais*, Lord of *Sarmatia*,
" five times Conquerour of *Persia*, Lord of
" *Germany*, Lord of *Egypt*, twice Conqueror
" of the *Carpians*, sixe times Conqueror of the
" *Armenians*, Lord of the *Medes*, Lord of the
" *Adiabeni*, Twenty times Tribune, Nineteene
" times generall Captaine, Eight times
" Consul, Father of the Country, Procon-
" sul, &c.

This matchlesse Tyrant, thus swolne up with Titles, after such time as he had plenteously riotted in the blood of the Saints, and sleighted the power of Heaven: feasted in nothing more than the bloody Bankets of dislaughter'd Christians. "Wherefore a Plague from above lighted on him, first taking roote in his flesh, and afterwards proceeding even unto his Soule. For there arose suddenly in the secret parts of his body (to chastise him for his licentious impurity) an Imposthume or running Sore, afterwards in the lower parts of his privities a botchy corrupt Bile, with a Fistula; whence issued out corrupt matter, eating up the inward bowels,

The like exemplary punishments inflicted on other Delinquents.

Vid. Fufeb. lib. 8. cap. 17, 18.

"bowells; and an unspeakable multitude of Lice
 "swarming out, and breathing a deadly stinch,
 "when as the Corpulency of the whole body
 "through abundance of meate before the disease
 "came, was turned into superfluous grosseesse;
 "and then being growne to matter, yeelded an
 "intollerable and horrible Spectacle to the be-
 "holders. . . Wherefore of the Physitians, some
 "not able to digest that wonderfull noysome
 "stinch, were slaine: some other (when there
 "remained no hope of Recovery, by reason of
 "the swelling throughout the whole body) be-
 "ing not able to helpe at all with their Physicke,
 "were cruelly executed themselves.

But let us (if you please) take a Summary or
 briefe Survey (the benefit will answer the pur-
 suit) how those Emperours which were Echnicks
 and Panims, maintainers of Idolatry and Paga-
 nisme; and how of the contrary, such as cleaved
 unto the Christian Faith, and held it there roy-
 all't Prerogative to be Defenders of it, ended
 their Reigne.

Was not *Caius Iulius Caesar* the first Emperor,
 slaine by Conspiracy? Did not certaine Souldi-
 ers with naked Swords dispatch *Caius* the Ne-
 phew of *Tiberius*? Was not *Nero* murdered by
 one of his familiar and deare Friends? Had not
Galba the like end, *Osbo* and *Vitellius* who all
 three reigned onely sixteene Moneths? What
 shall I speake of *Titus*, whom *Domitianus* poi-
 soned, although he was his owne Brother? What
 say you of *Commodus*, did not *Narcissus* dispatch
 him

The Corrup-
 tion of his bo-
 dy seconds the
 Tyrants Cru-
 elty: dispatch-
 ing such with
 his stinch, who
 he had refer-
 ved for that
 Death in his
 healthfull e-
 state.

him out of the way? What shall I speake of *Per-tinax*, and what of *Julian*, enjoyed not both they one kind of Death? What, did not *Antonius* the Sonne of *Severus* murder his Brother *Geta*? And did not *Martialis* require him with the like? What shall I say of *Macrinus*? did not the Souldiers use him like a Captive about *Bi-zantium*, and cruelly put him to death? Was not *Aurelius Antonius* of *Emessa* murthred together with his Mother? Was not *Alexander* immediately after him, together with his Mother likewise put to death? What shall I say of *Maximinus* (whom we formerly mentioned) whom his owne Army d' spatched? Or of *Gordianus*, who through the Treason of *Philip* was in like sort by his owne Souldiers put to death? Tell me, I pray thee thy selfe O *Zosimus*, what happened unto *Philip*, and after unto *Decius*, were they not flaine by the Enemy? Take *Gallus* and *Volusianus* with them, were they not murdered by their owne Armies? What of *Emilianus*, had not he the like miserable end? What *Valerianus*, was not he taken by the *Persians* in Battell, and led about of them in Triumph? What *Galienus*? was he not flaine through Treason, and *Carinus* beheaded when *Dioclesian* came to be Emperor; whom *Dioclesian* cut off lest they should Reigne with him? After whom *Herculius Maximianus*, his sonne *Maxentius*, and *Licinius* dyed with contumely and shame enough.

But since the time most noble Emperor *Con-stantine* began to reigne, since hee consecrated
unto

unto God the City he had built, and called it after his owne name, looke about I pray you, and speake indifferently, was there any one Emperour in that City (*Julian*, whose Apostacy exposed him to an imperious Tyranny, onely excepted) that was murdered, either by his owne Subject, or by the Enemy: or any other Tyrant vanquished the Emperour, *Basiliscus* excepted: who, although he thrust *Zeno* beside the Imperial Scepter, he was overcome of him againe, and lost his head.

These Examples extracted from infallible grounds, may seeme the judicious understanding of the Gravest, and fittest for Private Families, where order is best attained by Examples: We use most to be moved, when we see the end of such a Man, to caution us; who having led his life securely, concludes the period of his dayes as miserably: And some have I knowne even of the discreetest and most vertuous parents, who, to deterre their children from Drunkenesse, used (like as the *Epirotes* did with their children) to hang the picture of a Hog wallowing in a filthy puddle, with this Inscription on it:

Nunc Ebrius aſtes,

Nequē suem ſumpſiſſe ſuam formam —

*Drunkard, if thou wouldſt ſee this forme of thine,
Come here and ſee't depicted in a Swine.*

The Lascivious and sensuall worldling, decyphered with this Character: *Myrrha* hanging in

Vid. Lud. vicem. de educ. virgin. 1. lib.

An usuall meanes of reclaiming drunkards from their beſtiall brutishesse.

Abſte Sympoſia, diſtrabitur ne gotia. ib.

Iumentum bibit quantum ſufficit.

Homo liber quantum ſuſo cct. ib.

Every vice
briefly decy-
phered.

a chaine of gold about her father *Cyneras* bed^d
with this *Impressa*.

Hinc Amor ut tentis, suspendes.

The miserable wretch that makes his gold his
God, best expressed by *Menedemus*, with his
Spade, delving and digging for life, with this
Motto:

Sic mihi divitias Famuliq; pati.

Trust decyphering of all ices, proceeding from
the exemplary events of Delinquents', commit-
ting what they like, and at last feeling what they
like not: The best government in private, pro-
ceeds from Histories, and the serious reading
thereof: the vertuous Matron squaring her
course, by that modestest of *Romane* Dames
Lucretia, making her (*colum her thorum*) her
Distasse, her best companion in her bed, when
her husband was absent: no vicious mind can de-
prave her, she is fighting at home with her owne
passions, whilst *Colatine* her husband fights in the
field against his Countries enemy: But you shall
see *Lentulus* and *Aruns*, their wives rioting, and
revelling in their husbands absence.

You shall finde sundry Instructions highly
conducting to all Private Estates, in these *Surveys*
of Histories. Directions for those are married;
how to demean themselves in their severall
ranks or conditions. How the *Romane* Dames,
after they had taken them to Husbands, were to
bid adue to publique concourse: by breaking of
the Axle-tree of their Waggon at their Bride-
groomes doore: and putting off their shooes,
(implying,

*Nemo se fidul
sua tur tur.
Dum in tur
dominantur tu-
li.*

Oeconomicall
Histories, tea-
ching Private
Families how
to be disposed.

Necessary in-
structions for
all Private Es-
tates.

(implying, that they were thenceforth to keepe within doores, and never to goe abroad.) What Instructions likewise were given them, to prepare them before they tooke themselves to a married state; which (to omit others lesse pertinent) were digested in this sort:

Love all, but reserve your peculiar affection to One. 1.

Hate whatsoever deserves your pious neglect: and entertaine that Subject, as one worthy your truest tender, who would rather dye than asperse the least blemish on your honour. 2.

Hold him dearer than your life, who knows the essence of Love: who scornes to make a Semblance of that in Act or Tongue, which his intimatest thoughts confirme not for a truth. 3.

Piety should be your Diary: Sanctity your Deity. 4.

Earth your contempt: *Elysium* your content. Let *this* be your Object, *that* your Subject: *That* your Inne, *this* your Mansion. 5.

You are yet but one selfe, one Soule: if ever you live to unite it, let it be linked to such a Love, as may essentially delight it: ever cheere it, never cloy it. 6.

The misery of an enforced Marriage, what Tragick effects it h'as wrought, the World can witness: where joyning of hands comming from dis-joynd hearts, hath made many a Nuptiall, an heavy Funerall. 7.

Portion is a Worldings Object: Beauty the amorous Fooles Darling. Whereas, Vertue, be 8.

the never so poore, nor to the outward eye never so meane; reteines in her what may truly enrich those that shall have her: and expresse that beauty in Age, which farre surpasseth all others in their Prime.

9.

You, whose happinesse it hath ever beene to gaine repute; crowne those rayes of your Morning, with a glorious Evening. And to ripen those native seeds of goodnesse in you, make choice of such an one for your Mate, whose knowledge may improve you; that *Art* and *Nature* may make you such an absolute Creature, as whosoever eyes you, may admire you: and draw one line from your accomplishment, whereby they may imitate you.

10.

Though you be left, while others are chosen, hold not this your Contempt but Honour. Heavens have reserv'd you for the last Dish, to season the palate of a select Guest. Those Jewells are not in value least, that are vended last.

11.

Your affection hath beene long in planting; those are the best Foundations.

12.

That madding Fancy is a Frenzy, where Deliberation makes no entry.

13.

You have observed others choice; yet you preferred your Maiden-state before any change. A Marriage-day could not so fire your affection; as to beget in you one straying thought of altering your condition. What a fixt Resolve was this in Youth? you were no envious Corrivall in others Rites; but were pleased to see others f d, with what you never tasted; harmlesly joying to heare
others

others joy in that you never enjoyed.

But being so well read in Man, yet never knowne to Man, make use of your Lecture; and in a lawfull embrace give way to Nature.

14.

Let your Posterity make you a Mother; your breeding beget a new life in those who shall be got of you: that like *tender Officers* twisted about you, they may become melodious Instruments to those Superiour Powers that made you. To whose auspicious protection in the choice of your affection, that you may never stand in need of *Virt-placa's* Mediation, we recommend you.

15.

The like Directions you shall finde for Virgins, and such as embraced a single life: with sundry Morall Motives to exhort Widdows to Continnence. Instructions likewise for Oeconomi- cally Discipline: Experimentall grounds or Observations for Husbandry; all which for Brevity sake I passe over, referring you to such who have copiously enlarged themselves in Subjects of this nature.

Val. Max. Strabo. Macrobi. Lud. vii. &c.

If our Historians, now a daies, would employ their Lampes and Oyle in the delivery of a profitable History, such as might rather tend to the cherishing of the unripened blossomes of vertue, then the nipping of them: How happy members were they? Yea, that I may use *Salusts* words, though they retired themselves from publick affaires, yet; *Masus commodum ex eo otio, quam ex aliorum negotijs Reipub. venturum*: Yet such have bin the depraved humours of former times, that the best Observers and Relators, have purchased

Historians most profrable to the Commonweale.

little, save Envy, for their Labours: no, the very chiefest Historians have opposed themselves one against another.

Titus Livius was so violent against poore *Salust* (as *Seneca* observeth) as he objected that certaine things, Transcribed by *Salust* out of *Thucydides*, though elegantly applyed, yet by him depraved and corrupted; which *Aurelius Fuscus* also, noteth to be done, as it were, of set purpose by *Salust*, to derogate from the excellency of *Thucydides* writings: A meere detraction to such a worthy Author: But what workes meriting Emulation, have not ever had Envy for their attendants? I conceive the reason to proceed from that of *Hesiod*, who inferreth in Professions, none to be more apt to envy one another, then such as be of one Trade: *Figulus figulum odit*: True, for where eyther singularity is required, or hope of gaine, there Envy is ever shooting her poisoned Arrowes: And (for the most part) Envy raigneth there most, where our Labours deserve most: The low Mushrome is seldom touched by the violence of any Tempest, but the peering Cedar is ever exposed to all vehemencies.

For the particular use of Histories, and their fruit, I have gathered these Observances, extracted from a judicious Writer: Expert he was in all Historiall Relations, as his apt similitudes more fully demonstrate: what they are I have here set downe, and as contractedly (as I could imagine) for the benefit of every understanding Reader.

Enmity amongst Historians themselves.

Hesiod. l. lib.

Trog. Pomp.

If

If History comprehend in it any certaine do-
 cuments for the instruction of Mans life; I sup-
 pose it expedient for all men; as well to select
 and make use of it, as to rush violently into such
 most plentiful and fruitfull fields of History,
 where all exemplary grounds are in ample sort
 propounded. For what can be more pleasant,
 or more profitable, then in the Theatre of Mans
 life; so, to be made wary and wise by other mens
 harmes (and that without harme) as to sit in safe-
 ty, and yet to be instructed in all parts without
 jeopardy: chusing out Examples of all kind,
 which thou maist apply unto thy owne peculiar
 use, upon all occasions? And whereas History,
 is conversant oftentimes in the secretest counsels,
 importing the weightiest affaires of the greatest
 Persons: we that are men do with greatest appe-
 tite covet them, as likewise to be interressed in
 their events, because it is impossible (through
 the shortnesse of mans life) otherwise to abridge
 the successions of times, by the limit of our for-
 getfull memory: or to see the prosperous For-
 tunes, Successes, and Ends of Empires, or mani-
 festly to conceive the Causes of evils, eyther pri-
 vate or publicke; or in every hard and difficult
 assay, to have a president before our eyes, of
 such things as were tryed before us, or which
 were in hazard before they were attempted by us:
 and that I may speake all in one word; to judge
 of things present, by things past, which is the
 property of a wise man, and discreetly to fore-
 see of what is to come by all succeeding events.

But

A compendi-
 ous discourse
 of the generall
 profit of Hi-
 story.

But it becommeth us, to come so much the better furnished, by how much our History is with all fruits better fraught and replenished: And whereas there is the very same difficulty in judging rightly, as well of our owne, as anothers life; there is none that can duly (how piercingey'd soever) judge of anothers life, that hath not measured his owne: Of both sides it is to be implied, that not onely a maine difficulty is here placed, but also before we be to this History addressed, it is required necessarily, that we be not only endued with a certaine Civill Wisdome and Moderation, but also to have our lives grounded on a settled intention, unlesse we will be miserably, and that perpetually, deluded with the vaine illusions of this life.

For even as it fares in a most sumptuous and royall Banquet, replenished with all sorts of dainties, one thing seemes delightfull to one which is distastfull to another; few things are liked of all, every one being best pleased with his owne, though all dishes be alike to the Glutton: and as every one's appetite is, so is he affected; yet there is a meane (which Nature hath ordained) and a certaine kind of nourishment, which in it selfe is meerely simple and uncorrupted, and best agreeing with our bodies: From which, whosoever departeth so, as he crammeth himselfe above the bounds or determination of Nature, will find more inconveniency then profit in it. So in this diversity of Mans life, though there be a thousand formes, and a thousand purpose,

An apt similitude.

poies, and as every one is respected in mind and judgment; so he judgeth of his owne and anothers life: yet there is one only path of vertue, which whosoever keepeth and observeth wisely, he only maketh use of his life really. Others, as in a doubtfull supper, when they invite themselves to all pleasures, can neyther find out in themselves or others what might deserve imitation, or whereto they make might recourse: But if there be any thing given to man by Nature, which is in his power to use well or ill, it behoveth him to use great circumspection in the use thereof: But what is he I pray thee, that wil use more exact consideration in all his words and workes (by the direct line of vertue) then in the use of such meats as are set before him? And who thinkes not himselfe sufficiently instructed herein? In which how wonderfully are men deceived? Supposing that Discourse to be History, which teacheth the Reader, ministring to him matter of Learning (yet so) as a Banket ministreth use and appetite to every one as he is affected.

This is the reason that we see some so delighted with the sweetnesse of Reading, as obeying their owne pleasure, they loose the inestimable fruits thereof. Such have no other scope in all Histories, then with which our Generous Musicians, use to passe time away, upon their Instruments: employed in reading only, to spend their weary houres, which be presently encountred with more wearisomnesse: For there is no pleasure in it, which hath no referenceto Vertue. The glittering object

of glory and ambition excite others; and that which shewes a flexibility of mind in all other things, vainely transports them to every brave & eminent Image, forgetful how glorious and remarkable Examples are produced by Writers; not only to follow vertue, and contemne honour offered us; but if a Competitor were admitted us to countermaund the authority of our honour, to endure him with patience; yet, though none but fooles will purpose to aspyre to such merited excellency, without the like meriting vertue: we see many men, by the very reading of excellent things, to taste in themselves a certain kind of excellency; arrogating much to themselves, and resembling those Tragedians, who imitate the State of such persons they represented, after they have put off their Habits.

There be also (but of these there be but a few) whom new, and unaccustomed things do delight (men of vulgar apprehension) who hearing the State of Emperours, for the most part, more esteeme the Purple then the Man, the Picture then the Work: So effectually a force doth History exercise, and imprint in the Mind of the Reader.

Now it is the scope, and draught of all Histories to excite mans sloath, and to arme him against all dangers; and whereas the force of examples (then which nothing can be imagined more powerfull to perswade) tend especially to that end; it cometh to passe that by the security of men (who thinke other mens harmes little or nothing to concerne them) such things (as

in themselves are memorable and worthy obser-
 vation) be read and heard with a deafe and care-
 lesse Ear. *non otiose proxiqum bibi vult*
 To be briefe, there be some also (which one
 would hardly thinke) offend in a more severe, and
 Criticke kind of reading: as if things should
 not be Written as they were done, but as they
 ought to have beene done. Wherefore, partly
 by this curiosity, and partly by that security (the
 very surfeit of confused and rash reading) it com-
 meth to passe (as in a body pestred with corrupt
 humors) that a certaine *raxa*, or ill disposition
 of judgment and opinion; which ought especi-
 ally to be sound and sincere in the course of our
 life; and a *luxurancia*, or bad temperature, conver-
 ting all good into ill humours; useth to be con-
 tracted in us: and as meat availeth such as be dis-
 tempered, nothing; so no profit at all by these
 meanes is ministred to our reading.

I suppose thou seest how the very same reason
 is in reading History, and disposing the course of
 thy life: but this is certainly the greatest difficul-
 ty (to wit) the perversenesse of our judgment,
 which is the speciall cause, that we are not mo-
 ved with examples as we ought; but what way as
 our minds are inclined and affected most: And
 this difficulty is no lesse then the other: for as-
 much as Writers do describe things done, as they
 do not only carry favour, but follow their owne
 appetites (like some Builders) ever interposing
 their owne peculiar judgments, (of their owne ac-
 cord) praising some things, (though not praise-
 worthy;)

*Artificium be-
 nevolentia sol-
 ligenda haben-
 tes.*

worthy,) and whatsoever liketh them, they imagine it worthy approbation: which (surely) if they did simply, it were easie to consent or dissent unto them. But even as Cookes (for the most part) do more respect their Maisters Palate then his Profit: Even so an Historian (I could wish the most did not so) applies himselfe to the appetite of the Reader. We are oft-times therefore deluded by these two meanes, our owne Judgement, and the prejudice of the Author, not laying things open and naked, as they were done.

An Historian is the best interpreter of Acts achieved; whose judgment, if it chance to be corrupt, it commeth to passe, as when Wine (of it selfe neate and generous) taketh either some waist of the Cask, or is corrupted by some other distast, which either proceeds from an imposture, or folly great & inrollerable. We may see in one only example, the judgment of the Writer; The prophane Historian ascribeth the events of serious and weighty affaires, to the counsell and industry of men; al-be-it he hath sufficiently tried, how fowly those men were deceived in the events. Hence it is that men be drawne to great folly; that they, whose knowledge was scarce sufficient for the consideration of things subjected before their eyes; and whose force and strength not much exceeded little Wormes, should by one small successe arrogate the government of the whole world unto them. But a good Historian teacheth thus: *Things* (saith he) *are purposed by*
Man,

*Gulam sapius
 qui in comodū
 huius spectant.*


Man, but disposed, and moderated by God; whereby he riddeth the scrupulous Reader both of folly and superstition (a mischief no lesse then the other;) and in all other proprieties, good Historians (whose studies are only consecrated to holinesse) ought not to be ignorant of the Agent and Instrument wherein they differ, and what be their severall Effects: the one moving, and the other moved. But especially I admonish thee to this end; that whereas I observe many Authors of that kind, who for their exceeding force of innumerable examples, deserve to be read; I could wish that the Novice-reader discussse with himselfe as circumspectly and seriously as he can, by proposing to himselfe both the fruits which might redound, and the dangers which might occurre him in his reading: for to one that runneth over all Histories cursorily, or who rashly and unadvisedly spends his time without any exact observance of private or publicke duties, it cometh to passe as to Country Clownes, who in sacking of a neighbour City, take spoile of some *Apothecaries* shop well furnished with all receipts; where, provoked with the sweetnesse of some junkets or spices, being the first that came to their hands, and imagining the rest to be of the same sort, they swallow, sup up, devoure, and gormandize all before them; whereby presently some are taken with a strange disease, others with a Phrensie, most are bereft of life, none but strangely distempered, which occasions laughter through all the Army: *For as Mans life, (so History*

the Image of Mans life) hath her commodities and discommodities: for the Government of Mans life consisteth onely in the use of his life.

In these Collections, as in a most cleare Mirror, may our young Gallant see into his errors: he shall be of necessity forced to distaste himselfe, till he have relinquished his mid-night revels, surceased from his licentious meetings; and reduced his disconsorting Passions unto a calme and retired harbour; here the publicke Magistrate shall be able to dispose of himselfe, and Office deputed unto him; seeing matters worthy imitation, and Precepts worthy the Gravest and Ripest Consideration: one to instruct, others to Correct, and all to make perfect this whole module of Man.

Now, to take a review of those former Collections, and apply them to our present occasions; Histories you have heard illustrated by divers proper Similitudes, to represent untous the benefit thereof, both in respect of their delight, being modestly and discreetly seasoned; as likewise, the occasional profit we may make therof; in the passages of this life.

First then, he compares *History* to a *Feast* or *Banquet*; where Dishes of all sorts are provided and orderly disposed; implying, what Method is to be observed in the forme or digestion of an *History*. Nither, indeed, could any Viands be more orderly disposed, nor decently dished, than hath beene observed by our Historiographers in the comely disposition of their Writings:


 A review of those former Collections, applying them to our present occasions.

things: So well hath the Divine providence ordered, that whatsoever properly conduced either to the knowledge or practise of this life, might to Posterity bee successively recommended.

For first, to descend to the Order and Continuance of times agreeable to the Ecclesiasticall History, we have at this day compendiously delivered unto us by the Workes of such famous Historiographers as have written the said History unto the posterity following. For *Eusebius Pamphilus* hath written from the birth of Christ unto the reigne of *Constantinus Magnus*: *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Zozomen* have continued the times from *Constantine*, unto *Theodosius Inuior*, of which Emperours doings *Evagrius* hath somewhat discoursed. As for the Divine and Prophane Histories from the beginning of the World unto this day, they are orderly continued by painfull Writers. And first of all, *Moses* beganne to Write (as is declared of them which compiled these things together) of the things that were done from the Creation of the World, even as he had truly learned of God in Mount *Sina*. Againe, other followed him; shewed the ready way to our Religion, and committed to Writing the Acts done since his time. Moreover (to descend as in a building from Story to Story) *Iosephus* wrote a very large Story, full of every kinde of good matter.

What fabulous things soever have beene reported

ported to have been done either by the *Greeks* or *Barbarians* of old time, who either were at Civill Warres within themselves, or waged battell with forraine enemies, or if any other thing can be remembred since the first mould of man was cast, all I say, besides sundry other Writers, is laid downe by *Characes*, *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*. As for the Roman History, comprizing in manner the Acts of the whole World, or if any other thing fell out by reason of their Civill discord or of quarrels risen betweene them and forraine Nations, it is exquisitely handled by *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, who begunne his Story from the time of the People called *Aborigenes*, and continued it to the reigne of *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*. From thence unto the overthrow of *Carthage*, *Polybius Megapolitanus* hath excellently discoursed: all which Treatises though occasioned at divers and sundry times, *Appianus* with grave judgement hath contrived into Order, and compacted together; adding thereunto of his owne, such things as were worthy of memory after their dayes unto his time. *Diodorus Siculus* wrote unto the time of *Julius Cesar*, *Dion Cassius* likewise continued his Story unto the reigne of *Antonius* of *Emesa*. The like matter and order hath *Herodian* in manner followed, ending with the death of *Maximus*. *Nicostratus* also, a Rhetorician of *Trapesus*, beganne with the reigne of *Philip* the Successour of *Gordianus*, and wrote unto *Odonatus* of *Palmyra*, and the ignominious expedition

tion of *Valerianus* against the *Persians*. Of the same thing intreated *Dexippus* at large, beginning with the reigne of the *Macedonians*, and ending with the Empire of *Claudius*, the Successor of *Galiennus*. The said Author laid downe the Warres of the *Carpians*, and of other Barbarians in *Hellada*, *Thracia* and *Ionia*. *Eusebius* continued his Story from *Octavianus* the Emperours reigne, unto the time of *Traian*, *Marcus*, and the death of *Carus*. *Arianus* and *Asinius Quadratus*, wrote somewhat also of those times. The times following, reaching unto the reigne of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* the Emperors, *Zosimus* hath profecuted : and of the things which happened since their times, *Priscus Rhetor* with others hath discoursed. All which Histories *Eusebathius* of *Epiphania* hath briefly runne over, but very excellently, and devided the whole into two Volumes : The first containeth the Acts from the beginning of the World unto the destruction of *Troy* and the Pallace of *Priamus* : the second continueth the Story from that time unto the twelfth yeare of *Anastasius* the Emperours reigne. There beganne *Procopius Rhetor*, and ended with the dayes of *Iustinian*. What happened since unto these our dayes (saith *Evagrius Scolasticus*, a serious Discourser and Discusser of Antiquities) although *Agathius Rhetor*, and *Iohn*, both my fellow Citizen and Kinsman, have orderly written of, unto the time when *Chosroes* the younger both fled unto the *Romans*, and also was restored to his Kingdome by *Mauricius*,

(who went not therein faintly to worke, but couragiously as it became an Emperour) and brought *Chosroes* into his Kingdome with great Treasure and Armed Souldiers) yet have they not as yet published their Histories.

Whence you may collect how orderly Histories have beene disposed, how successively continued, and with what coherence suited, as hath formerly beene observed. The chieft of them, to retaine them better in memory (and right usefull is such Historicall retention) have beene ingeniously closed in this metricall Dimension.

*Baronius, Iovius, Polydorus,
Dodonaus, Diodorus,
Dorotheus & Eusebius,
Ptolomaeus & Polybius.*

Annexing to these:

*Calius, Lelius, & Valerius,
Cincas, Plinius, & Pererius.*

Now, (to tye our selves to that propriety of that Similitude used in our former Collections;) as in a *Banket* there be severall Dainties orderly dished, so be there appetites as diversly affected. What one distasteth, another reliseth; what one reliseth, another distasteth. So it fareth with our Readers of History. Some are for Solid meates; Serious Discourses, fit onely for strong Stomacks. Others are for meates of easie and light digestion. What may relish with the Palat, though it affords lesse nourishment, delights

delights them best. Here a Confit, there a Succot; onely Kix-showes are for these lighter Guests.

And many shall we encounter withall of this sort: who, should you question them, what they have read in such an History, or what usefull Observance fit upon occasion, to be reduced to practise, they have gathered; it were to bee doubted, if they returne not the same answer, which that youthfull Reader of *Homers Workes* rendred (as one newly come out of an *Euphuus* golden slumber) to one questioning him in the like manner. "I find not a more pleasing Piece than *Helen*, nor displeasing than *Thersites*. Many such there are, who take a perfecter view of the *Picture*, than of the *Substance* Poore mouldred earth, which sometimes (if Histories enlarge not themselves too farre) retained a gracefull presence; and wrought such strong impressions in strange eyes, as they ingaged both their owne and Countries liberty, to become possessors of such a beauty, are attractivest Objects of their eyes, the retentivest Subjects for their memories. These come for company, amongst the more knowing and deservying Guests, to partake of this *Banket*; but they preferre such sweete Meates, which corrupt rather than nourish, before those which may not onely close the Appetite, but supply for nourishment.

Others, more seriously affected, hold to that which may most nourish. These be our ju-

dicous Readers, who collect what may profit them in private Discourse, or affaires Domestick or Publick.

To see an Eminent Personage beare himselfe to his ranke, we commend him; we say, hee does not degenerate from those he came from: his disposition proves his descent; his Education, the worthinesse of those that bred him. Observe this in your perusall of *History*; when you finde a person nobly accomplish'd; One, who values honour before any worldly tender: you collect, he was not obscurely bred; his demerits pleade for him. No Herald can find for him a better Coate, than his owne personall worth. Now, reflect, *Gentlemen*, upon your selves. Doe you shew your selves abroad? Are you invited to publicke Feasts or other re-greets of friends? Tell me then, is not the Vessell to be knowne by the sound? Our vaporous Gallant, whose intimate acquaintance is his Tinder-boxe and a Pipe, takes in *snuffe* a serious Discourse. His entire Study is reduced into a small Volume, closing his Impresse with, *Pulvis & umbra sumus*.

And these Emblemes of his Mortality though he carry still about him, he as easily forgets what they signifie, as if they had no relation to Mortality. Poor seered things! Can you see these, and not pittie them? Pieces made up in the shape of men, but so farre estranged from so Princely style, as, their feature excepted, they represent nothing lesse. Discourse, without that weak *mannall* instrument, their Pipe, they cannot:

and

and when they utter what smook gives them power to deliver: they reteine still that Embleme in their Dialect, which they evaporated from their Pipe, *Smoake*. The Judicious, I am sure, blush at this, and by a *reflex* of *conceit* (to use the Philosophers words) are more ashamed of them, than they of themselves. For these conceive what a dishonour it were to them to shew themselves so childishly in a publicke Society.

It is true, all dispositions are not alike affected; Seeing, as *Plato* saith, running Wits are delighted with Poëtry, as *Aristotle* writeth, effeminate persons are ravished with Musick, and as *Socrates* telleth us, Histories agree best with stayed heads. This induced *Alfonso* to have alwaies in his bosome the Commentaries of *Cesar*: being also so much delighted with the History of *Titus Livius*, that on a time he commanded certaine Musicians (though very exact in their Art) to depart, saying: "He heard a more pleasant harmony out of *Livius*."

History to a discreet Eare the delightful harmony.

When you come then to this Muscull Feast; where you shall heare pleasing Aires mixed with doleful *Lachryma's*; bring discretion along with you to rectifie your distempered appetites. Leave light notes to persons of light note. Stronger meates are prepared for your well-concocting Stomacks: such as may nourish you, and beget those manly abilities, that may fit and accommodate you for the knowing'st presence.

It was the saying of a learned States-man in

this Kingdome (whose Workes expresse him a serious reader of *Men* as well as *Bookes*) that he would have a gentleman rather superficially seene in all Learnings, than exact in One. And his reason is, that one who reteines the Elements of all Knowledges, though they be but in a weak measure, yet hee can deliver himselfe by way of Discourse in what Subject soever shall be ministred: whereas Hee, who hath confin'd himselfe to an exact sight of one Knowledge, and no more, being out of that Element, wherein hee is solely exquisite, he must veile to other mens Discourse, and keepe consort with Silence.

Now, to inable you for all Companies, no study may better accommodate, nay accomplish you, than the knowledge of *History*. So as *Calisthenes* said to *Alexander*, that he had rather carouse old Graines with *Diogenes* in his Dish, than new Grapes with *Alexander* in his Cup; " For of all the Gods (quoth he) I love not *Asculapins* : preferring conference with a Philosopher, before the society of a Scepter: and imbracing an abstemious course of moderation, before Festivall and Epicureall meetings. Even so should I in my choise of acquaintance, desire more to enjoy his company; who hath beene usefully vers'd on the Theatre of *History*; than any other, whose affected dresse, or airy complement gives onely a sound to the Eare, but leaves no impression in the Concept.

In our election then of Company (as I have many times observed) let it be our care ever to
make

An exact
Historian, a se-
lect Compa-
nion.

make choise of such, “ of whom wee may bee
 “ confident either to better them, or be bettered
 “ by them. And to chuse him for our Master
 “ (to use *Seneca's* counsell) whom wee may more
 “ admire when we see him, than when we heare
 “ him.

For the habit of the mind is best discovered by the Action, Station and Disposition of the body. So as, he deserves not the style of a Master, who seconds not that title in his outward gesture.

Thus you have heard this Similitude explained, in this resemblance of an *History* to a *Feast*: whereto if you come with tastes or appetites distempered; those various dishes, be they never so delicious, can afford you small delight: begetting rather in you a loathing, than a longing. So, in this incomparable Feast of *History*, where Dishes stored with all variety of discourse are served up, if you come with distempered judgments, not distinguishing what is wholesome from what is noysome, that which might have redounded to your infinite profit, by inversion of the right use, returns to your detriment. Great preparation than is to be had in the solemnizing of so Princely a Banquet.

Secondly, hee compares it to a *Field*. Where we may preambulate and solace our selves after more serious studies. Neither shall you finde more variety of flowers in the Field; than you may of excellent instructions, powerfull examples, with other perswasive Motives in our *Histories*. You shall finde Princes by taking
 their

*Eum eligas in
 Socium, de quo
 tibi spes est
 aut meliorem
 redderis, vel
 meliorem ab eo
 redeundi.*

*Eum eligas ma-
 gistrum, quem
 magis admire-
 ris cum videas,
 quam cum au-
 dias. Seneca.*

Facilitas in
 accessu, benignitas in aspectu, affabilitas in affatu.
 Optimi sunt socij, qui serid face ti.
 Quid audisti, quo magis profuisti?
 In quo melior disceristi, quam cum socios peristi?

their levell from these directions, entertaining a facility of access, a benignity in Count'nance, an affability in discourse. Others, though their Education had highly enabled them, their assiduate conference with learned Philosophers improved them: yet this their improvement extended but onely to knowledge: They were contemptively Proficients, but practically Deficients. The Wolfe would not change his heart, though he had chang'd his haire.

Againe, as in a *Field*, you shall encounter with many kindes of fruites, which, howsoever they appeare delightfull to the eye, are dis-relishing to the taste. So shall you in those spacious flourishing borders of *History*; observe some Eminent Persons, whose faire Semblances promise nothing more than the practise of every Vertue: Their Countenance cheerefull, their Discourse delightfull, their Service to their Countrey seemingly faithfull; yet shall you finde them true *Tiberians*, glorying in nothing so much as cunningly and covertly cloathing their purposes with faire pretences, going invisible, and deluding their professed't friends expectations with a seeming good. Others, like low-growing Plants, or earth-kissing Violets, though to the Eye of the World, they seeme contemptible; yet try them, and you shall finde them sweet and comfortable Consorts; though sleightly observed, deservingly approved,

You shall find how those men, who, as *Cosmo* saith, carry their heart in their mouth, are more

to

to bee pittied than feared. But contrarywise, those who carry their mouth in their heart, more to be feared than pittied. You shall heare *Scipio* described by *Cicero* to bee the most cunning Searcher of Mens Minds, and *Sylla* by *Salust*. Thus may you store your selves with flowers and fruits of all sorts in this *Poly-carpian Field of History*. And feele such fresh wholesome aire to cheere you, as no distemper (unlesse your owne dispositions feede it) can possibly surprize you.

Thirdly, He compares some of our *Historians* to *Builders*; interposing their owne particular judgements, and imping their owne conceits, by which they many times divert the Scope of their History. Teaching the Generall of whom they write, what he should doe: neglecting in the meane time his owne Office, of recording what was done. And this errour falls many times upon a presuming Reader, as well as the originall Author. For many of our Criticks, who hold *Minerva's* Anvill to bee in their Braine; cannot read a Line without a Censure: and these for most part delight in nothing more than catching and carping at an errour. This confirmes *Salust's* Position: "To reprehend others Actions and Speeches each mans mind is strongly affected.

But if you meane to *build* wisely upon these *Stories*; you must leave behinde you all prejudicate conceits. Read Actions as they were done; imitate whatsoever you finde commendably
Ecc done:

Ad reprehenda aliena facta atque dicta ardet omnis animus, Salust.

done : Eschew whatsoever you finde ignominiously done. Examples are usefull for you in both kindes : These to deterre ; those to allure.

Fourthly, he compares these glozing-sugred *Historians* to *Cookes* ; who (for the most part) use to preferre their Masters Palat before his profit. Such as these delude their Guests with gilded Plates, and indented Pastes. But gilded meates will never allay hunger. Profit and pleasure mixt together make the best musicke. The smell of Meat can no more feed the belly ; than the sound of money fill the Purse. “ There be some
 “ wholesome things indeed (saith that sinnowy
 “ *Seneca*) which without either touch or taste,
 “ profit much with their smell. But by these, the
Morall meant no materiall Flowers : Those
 internall graces or beauties of the mind, which
 had received sweetness from Philosophicall in-
 structions, were those sweete fragrant Odours
 he meant by. But to presse this Comparison a
 little farther : Our *Historians* should not be such
Cookes, as onely to intend a pleasing of the Sense.
 There is more in History, than delighting a
 youthfull appetite. He then that desires to
 have his Workes live to posterity ; or in af-
 ter Ages to reteine his Mentory ; must dis-
 esteeme these pleasing humours of complying
 either with Time, or with any One ; high in
 favour with Time. It was the Poets reso-
 lution :

*Sen. de Tranq.
 anim.*

*As in my choise of meates, so in my Booke,
I'd rather please my Guests, than please my Cooke.*

He Writes the best, who humours least. Nor can he expresse himselfe better, than in composing his Style to the state of that Subject whereof he Writes: Aiming more at publick profit, than any mans private respect or favour: for Partiality, of all others, layes the greatest aspersion upon an Historiall Labour.

Fifthly, Hee compares the judgement of an *Historian*, when it becomes corrupte, to *Wine*; (which of it selfe neat and generous) taketh either some waist or unsavoury taste from the Cask, or is corrupted by some other accident. Mixtures of Histories may bee not improperly resembled to our mixtures of Wines. They make them lose their *flavour* and *vigour*. Unlesse they be so discreetly mixed, that the strength of the History be not weakned; nor those principall passages whereof he takes occasion to treat; disordered or omitted. Wine muddy or troubled we cannot endure; it must be fined and cleared from the Lees. And so must History. Purged and refined it should be from all Lees; or incredible Lies. From all impertinences, uselesse digressions, artlesse independencies. Otherwise it will taste *flat*; and beget a distaste to any discerning judgement.

Lastly, He compares unadvised Readers of History to *Countrey Clownes*, who in the spoyle of a City, breake into some Apothecaries shoppe,

--- Cane sunt
fercula nostra,
Mallem Convul-
vis quam pla-
cuisset Coelis.

well furnished with all receipts: but not distinguishing what is Sovereigne from what is Poyson; offering to their Sense for for good whatsoever seemes pleasing: They fall into Phrenisies, Plurisies, and all Distempers. Observe this *Gentleman*, and make use of it. The *Deare*, if hee be wounded, can flye to *Ditany*, to cure him; The *Beare* when he feeles himselfe sicke, seekes for *Emmets*, audeates them, and these recover him. The *Bee*, if he be distemper'd, hyes him to *Balme mint*, and that cheeres him.

Is it so, that these irrationall Creatures know how to cure their griefes; and will you neglect what may cheere your minds? You may finde in *History*, as in a *Confectionary*, soveraigne Receipts, choice Electuaries to cure all maladies. Whatsoever is defective in you, may be heere supplied; and whatsoever is in some small measure perfected, may be more fully accomplished.

Nothing, whether it conduce to Discourse or Action, Warre or Peace, Arts or Armes, but may by Historicall Helpes bee highly advanced.

The Philosophers Axiome is: *Omne quod non ens est, malum est*. And worse then no being (have they) who measure out their lives without a due proportion drawne from others, and applied to themselves. Instruction is the light of Being, the directresse of Living, and the best Schoole-mistresse that disciplines us dying: States publicke are managed by her, Offices private administred by

Ambros. in
Exam.

Instruction
the light of
understanding.

by her, and the wisest men have desired to possess her. No Beauty more permanent, Jemme more eminent, or Treasure more Excellent; it beautifies it selfe; and no *Phidias* could ever portray any picture so well as it portrayes it selfe. And what instruction better then that which comes from History, where the true Image of our life is delineated, Vertue in her best colours expressed, and Vice (without either shadow or pretence) layd open and naked? The Prodigall reads, and sees himselfe represented in another Person; he sees the miserable end of others, which (unlesse he will fall with open eyes) must needs caution himselfe: he sees haire-brain'd courses, leave both Patrimony and reputation behind them: *Penelopees* Woers, ever woing, never winning. The miserable wretch, that pincheth himselfe to enrich his unthankfull Posterity, may see the fruit of gathering Perdition to himselfe, and oft-times occasion of ruine and speedy desolation to his surfeiting Heire. Here the brave Souldier sees his owne fame; Acts duly and fully expressed; not a famous Exploit (deserving memory) must be silenced, but the very name of the Agent, (to excite others the more) must be Recorded. Here the effeminate Milke-sop, that fights best under his Ladies flagge, first man that will come to a lascivious Banket, but last that will come to a pitched field: Hee (I say) must shew himselfe, though smally to his credit: yea, *Alcybiades* (though otherwise well deserving of his Country) must be set out in his ignominious death; as well as his

E e e 3

memo-

Histories, mirrors for all States.

Histories must not partialize.

memorable life, giving up the Ghost in the lappe of his Concubine *Tymandra*.

He defined *History* to life, though confined to a short line, who call'd it: "A Theatre of noble Actions, begetting in the Spectators a laudable Envy, a glorious Emulation.

Nor shall we find in the whole passage of our life, so true a *Herald* for deblazoning Vertue or Vice, as it is: We say, *Letters cannot blush!* and though many unbecoming Act be by her presented, with the quality of the Person by whom it was acted: yet like a faithfull undaunted Record, it recommends with a composed and censorious countenance, how it was done and by whom, without glozing with Person or Time. Such Registers cannot perish: whereas others, who are wonne by Greatnesse, or corrupted with base Lucre, (of all others the basest) or out of private discontent (an Errour too commonly taking amongst many Historians) asperse dishonour on any Person or State (of all others the hatefulest) cannot promise any perpetuity, because they faile in their foundation, being not grounded on Principles of Verity. Oh what a gracefull beauty bestowes our Historian on Vertue, when expressed in any Eminent Person! How it wooes Followers, and wins them to be Imitators of such goodnesse! The Members cannot be distemper'd, when the Head is healthfull. When the Prince turnes Philosopher, the whole Court becomes an *Academy*.

History then, as it may be properly stiled, The

Noble-

History the best Herald for deblazoning vertue or vice.

Noble-mans Lecture: So their Actions, Lectures to the inferiour. Nothing commendable in the great, which brings not with it an Additament, being cloathed with greatness. For great Persons, be their lifes remarkable eyther for some eminent Vertues, or egregious Vices, they become presidents to their shadows.

Three especiall commendable qualities have bin thought ever fitting Consorts to accompany Persons of quality; but these have bin ever observed most estranged from their society. 1. Patience in suffering Adversity: 2. Moderation in bearing Prosperity: 3. Humility in attemping Sovereignty.

That wise *Chylo*, when his brother took it distastfully, that he himsele should not be made *Ephorus*, when *Chylo* was made him this answer to allay his Choller: "Content your selfe
"Brother, I know how to suffer injuries, so do
"not you. Implying, that none was fit for place of Authority, but could patiently endure affronts, or suffer an injury. This it was which so truly recorded *Camillus* name in the Annals of Honour: whom neither his Dictatorship could too much raise, nor his exile from his Country, too much deject.

This, those praise-worthy *Romanes* bravely shewed in their constant and unamated resolution after their disaster at *Canna* (as hath beene observed) where at such time as hearing of nothing but utter ruine and desolation ringing in every place, they did nothing unworthy themselves: deser-

Three especiall qualities
suiting well
with the condition of any
Eminent Person.

Q

deserving no lesse honour in bearing their losse, then their enemies in obtaining the prize. But for one president of patient-suffering in this kind; we shall meet with many opposite examples, inclining to a contrary bent. Yea such, who had bin sufficiently schooled in Philosophy, and had read what weake trust was to be reposed in prosperity. Amongst these, you shall find some overcome with griefe upon innovation of government, to lay violent hands upon themselves. Poniards and poysons their familiar receipts to cure all discontents. These could not endure to see the face of a State altered; their Consull-authority dis-valued; their antient Lawes dis-annulled; but they must witness their griefe with a fatall stabbe; though such a desperate act conferre no benefit to the State.

No lesse rare have our Historians held *Moderation* in bearing *Prosperity*, with persons of Command and Sovereignty.

Alexander in the height of his successe, was so farre transported with the suppositious title of a Deity, as he began to forget Mortality: yet one wound received can make him retract that Error; and confesse himselfe a mortal man, though the worlds Commander. What would he have sayd, if he had seene himselfe remaine thirty dayes without buriall; but *Diogenes* (poore contemptible *Diogenes*) solemnized with a glorious Buriall.

How farre *Pyrrhus*, the victorious *Cesar*, experient *Hannibal*, imperious, but afterwards calamitous,

mitous *Antiochus*, Majestick *Mithridates*, Martiall *Miltiades* fell short of this Moderation, their owne actions (deblazoned to life by our Histori- call Heralds) will sufficiently demonstrate.

These wanted *Simonides* to sing unto them, as he did sometimes to *Pausanias*; or as that Page every morning did to *Philip* of *Macedon*:

“*Philip* remember that thou art a Man. Or the *Spartans* speech to the *Samnites*: “We have for- got our beginning, we have not understood our ending, because we have not remembered our beginning.

Whereas in others we shall finde an absolute Moderation in the height of their Prosperity; and such a Princely commaund of themselves, as their very minds declared them worthy of nothing lesse then Sovereignty.

This appeared in the Moderation of noble *African*, mild *Marcellus*, strict *Severus*; who with an easie contempt slighted the honour they enjoyed, and could Philosophically digest the losse of fortunes, if they perished: whence we cloze, Honour can be no attractive Lure, to the composed spirit of a true Heröick Lover.

Lastly, with what a Princely beauty Divine Humility shewes herselfe in the bosome of Nobility, may appeare in that modest reply of that victori- ous *Godfrey*, to such, as after his glorious Con- quest of *Hiërusalem*, to the honour of Christen- dome, offer'd to set a Crowne of gold upon his head, but he refused it, saying, “God forbid that the Servants head should be with Gold crowned,

Respice post te
hominem me-
mentote. Ter-
cul. Apol. c. 33.
Μέμνηο ἀ-
σπάρταν.
Prima sumus
obliti, postre-
ma non intel-
leximus, quia
prima non me-
minimus.

where his Masters head was with Thornes pierced.

Now, the rarity of this Vertue (or rather the repository of all vertues) is recommended to us by Venerable *Bede* in this memorable story: " *Aidan* a religious Bishoppe, weeping for King " *Oswinus*, and demaunded by the Kings Chap- " laine why he wept? I know, sayd he, that the " King shall not live long: for never before this " time have I seene an humble King. Which hap- " ned accordingly, for he was cruelly murdered by *Oswin*. Howsoever, if in any of these, such Person- ages as the Historian makes mention of, fall short, through corruption of discipline, he should not be sparing in his modest discovery, so it import the subject of his History: where it is expected all things should be delivered impartially.

Absolute Histories will not admit of the least concealment, but representing every Act, Person, and Event, use to illustrate what is worth insisting upon, omitting (or at least cursorily passing over) more fruitlesse Subjects: and how delightfull may it seeme to every judicious man, when in reading of ancient Records, he conferres the Stratagems of Warre then used, with the present observance of this Time: sees (and seeing) notes the sundry dispositions of men, how noble in themselves, and how generally esteemed invincible, by a sudden conversion laid low, beneath the stirrop of Fortune, and made a spectacle of Fate! Then to observe States, better governed in their decline than in their height; and farre more able in power, when in the eye of the world.

World least powerfull. The *Romans*, when they had attained the very height of Felicity, that all Governments were their Tributaries, then they began to stoop most under their burden, and pressed with their owne grandeur, seemed to imitate the *Phenix*, who weary of her selfe, desired to have her ashes renewed, but her selfe extinguished. What ambitious Tyrants proud of their owne strength, and secure of Divine power, are layd flat in the height of their expectancies: so as where they planted the foundation of their hopes, there they were most defeated; to expresse the providence, & all-working Majesty of God, who disposeth of all governments, pulling down the tyrannicall Empires, and setting wise and discreet Princes in their place! And no motive (of prophane writings) more effectuell then Histories, to draw us to a consideration of our selves, and the Majesty of God, whose excellency beautifies this Universe, teaching us to admire, and (in our admiration) to tremble and feare, having recourse to the incomprehensible judgments, and secret counsels of the Almighty.

Rome in her decay, compared to the Phenix.

A Christian consideration of the power and Majesty of God.

Every private Family may draine hence un-
 speakable profit, observing the divers casualties, & mutabilities subject to every one that is interested especially in matters of state; preferring their own private and free Life, before popular admiration, so intangled with continual incertainties. Here may the poore Husbandman, at his leasure, receive tidings from Forraigne

Profit derived from Histories to private Families.

raigne Courts: here he may learne what difference there is betwixt the Coulter and the Scepter, the Share and the Shield. Here may the Marchants wife pittie her poore husband, tossed with so many aduerse winds, inuironed with so sundry dangers, and exposed to so miserable adventures; she cannot chuse but play true at home, that hath a husband so faithfull abroad, who endangers himselfe to make her secure: why should any come into his hazard, that like a *Tennis-ball* casts himselfe into every hazard? Here the wife of the valiant Souldier may see what difficulties her distressed husband is exposed unto, heat, cold, watching, hunger, thirst, all inconueniences, to propagate the glory of his Country, & purchase himselfe a name eternally memorable. His poor family hath reason to powre out their prayers for his deliverance, and thank fully ascribe all glory to the power of Heaven for his safe returne. To be briefe, what particular estate not engaged to Relations of this nature? The Mariner seeth his dangers; and seeing them, obserueth the influence of the Stars, and Planets, the *Orion* and the *Pleiades*; yet in all these obseruances, he gathers there is a Power above, whom the Sea and winds obey: to him therefore, as (the expertest Pilote) he flies for succour, finding no harbor more secure, no repose more safe. The Souldier sees into the Discipline of Armes; & (by History) apprehends how a smal handfull of Men have oft-times conquered an Army, to the judgment of Man invincible: he sees into it, and admires the wonderfull power of God,

Merces domestica in conjugio, longinqua in nauigio sita est.

The description of a Mariners danger.

The Souldiers discipline by Histories.

God; who worketh oft-times directly against all meanes; to teach us thus much; that his power is not limited to meanes; but can effect (without the least instruments) what in his sacred Synode he hath ordained. Here the Marchant sees into the riches of the whole Earth; how it pleaseth God to subject all things to the service of Man, to the end Man might only reserve himselfe for the service of God: he observes the exceeding favours of Heaven shewne upon Earth; and he collects hence, that those joyes; whose comforts and exceeding treasures which he keepeth for the Elect in Heaven, must needs be great above all comparison. *Sit tanta solatia in die lachrymarum, quanta conferet in die nuptiarum.* These considerations must of necessity move him to play the good Marchant, who finding one Jem of price, will sell all and buy it.

Yet see the misery of Man! That he who hath received all things from that infinite Fountaine of Divine Bounty; should preferre the fruits of Misery, before the promises of Gods Mercy!

Those erring Philosophers, when they conceived those sweet-relishing comforts they enjoyed by the Ministry of the foure Elements; they could not (poore deluded Soules!) ascribe lesse than the Title of a Deity to every distinct Element. Zeno makes Fire; Zenophanes Earth; Anaximenes Ayre; Hippas Water, to be their Gods. Yet, when all these Elements joyne in one voyce and vote, crying, "Wee are not your Gods, seeke him above us: Hee is your God, Hee is our

Aug. Soliloq. .
cap. xxi.

☞ A Motive to thankfulness, derived from a Commemoration of mans irreparable misery, without Gods ineffable mercy.

Four severall Philosophers ascribed distinct Deities to the foure Elements.

"God who made both you and us; We become lesse thankfull to our true God; than they to their false Gods; *Deus non uidet: animum* or *hominum* *motus*. A Motive, then, to Thankfulness, might be worthily hence derived from a Commemoration of Mans irreparable Misery, without Gods ineffable Mercy, *Deus non uidet: animum* or *hominum* *motus*.

Glorious is the Image hee has imprinted in him; various and beauteous be those graces hee has bestowed on him; a more precious prize is reserved for him: and are not all these of power to wooe and winne him? Againe, should he reflect upon himselfe, and consider how by sinfull declining, he is dayly descending to a miserable condition, from which, without Gods great mercy there is no redemption; he would turne, no doubt all *Niobe*: and with pious teares, holy vowes, religious purposes; vertuous actions, labour his freedome from captivity, to re-possesse him of his primitive liberty. Histories are plenteous in examples, relating the miseries of Eminent States; and how soone those, who to the eye of the World, appeared most happy; closed so cheerefull a Day with an Evening Summons of irreparable misery. And the greatest ground of their unhappinesse, tooke life generally from their owne selfe-confidence. It was the Saying of that Noble *Themistocles*: "*I had perished, had I not perished.*" And it is the generall condition of all Man-kinde: Men are never farther from happinesse, than when they seeme to be in most happinesse. For what is this
Theatre

Theatre of Tragick encounters, Where we act this calamitous Scape, of our lifes, but ever hung about with mourning? *Troilus* was held more happy than *Primmus*, because hee dyed younger, and therefore his teares fewer than *Priamus*. *Mithridates* had bene more happy, if he had dyed sooner, before he saw his misery. *Darius*, while victorious, might have dyed gloriously; a few longer dayes eclipid his glory. Hee, who sometimes thirsted after Sovereignty, and failed in that which he most sought, when in his flight he drunke muddy and stinking water, said; "That he never drunke a sweeter draught."

Contraries by opposition receive best illustration. Let us eye the condition of those States which many yeares have preceeded us, and collect our owne happinesse by their disquiets. Sweet is Water to them that have not tryde it. But such as rightly weigh it, with the inconveniences that accompany it, will render all thanks to that *Prince of Peace*, by whose blessing they enjoy it.

These, by dayly experience can distinguish of the Utilities betwixt *Peace* and *Warre*. They observe, how in *Peace*, Sonnes burie their Fathers; but in *Warre*, Fathers burie their Sonnes: how in *Peace*, the sick are healed; but in *Warre*, the whole are wounded. Where, it is doubtfull, whether the *Agent* or *Patient* be more miserable. It is an excellent Rule, which is commended to us, in the use of *Warre*: "Neither, to provoke taking up of Armes, nor to lay them downe upon just occasion"

Belium nec mandum, nec provocandum.
 Plin. Panegy.
 Trajano.

“occasion offered. But how happy we ; when in this our *Intlosed Garden*, our *owne Olive* may feed us ; our *owne Vine* cheere us ; our *owne Figge-tree* shadow us ! This, other Neighbour-States are farre from injoying ; yea, such, as so nearely bound us, that,

Exigua prohibentur quæ

A smal cut divides us, but a great difference of condition betwixt us. This, in the remembrance of others unhappines, shold induce us to thankfulness.

God hath in store Judgement as well as Mercy ; of the first Cuppe others, and those our Neighbours, have deeply tasted ; of the latter, our Cuppes have bene plenteously sweetned.

God hath powred downe the Viols of his Wrath upon other Nations, in sending out those three fearefull Messengers, and in shooting those three farall Arrowes ; Famine, Sword and Pestilence ; We onely who deserve least, have shared in the last, and have for a season mourned, yet are not wee converted : our grieve being for most part rather for decrease of our Trade, or Traffick, or the decay of our Worldly estate in some measure, than hearty sorrow for incurring Gods displeasure.

The onely usefull way for us in this Review of Gods Mercies to us, and his Judgements upon others ; is to retreewe our thoughts from earth ; to fixe our affectionis where we have stored our divinest Treasures. And as Heaven h'as shut her windowes of Judgements to us, and hath opened them upon others : And h'as opened the windowes

*Tunc verò requie cor affici-
tur, quando in
Cælestibus uni-
cè figitur.*

dowes of his Mercy to us, which hee ha's shut from others: let it be our especiall care to ramme up our windowes, I meane our *outward Senses*, that Death enter not in by them; and *Tarpeia*-like, betray our chiefest Cittadell unto them.

The Poët in the person of some Vertuous Ones, expressed nearly the Sovereaigne effect of this receipt in these Words:

*Within their Lodges they their eyes restrained,
That Lures of light love might be still refrained,
Whence the rich prizes of pure minds they gained
With peace adorned.*

Thus if our affections were erected, our actions directed, and our waies corrected, we should soone (to use *Seneca's* words) "*Gather out Vessels in the Haven safely, and after a long perilous voyage, arrive with Glory.*"

Every private houshold is a little Kingdome within it selfe, and needes instructions (though not so consequently serious) as the greatest Palace, and royallest Empire: order must be observed in the one, as well as in the other; a Principality in both, and a subjection to both. VVhat fitter for the housholder to traine his children, servants, and attendants in (next Diuine VVrit) than the reading of profitable Stories, such as excite to Vertue, and stirre up their mindes to the undertaking of something worthy a resolved spirit? I know the base minded Groome hearing

*Intra cancellos
reuerere sensus,
Comprimant
sauos ut amoris
astus,
Integra mentis
reperendo quaestus
Limine pacis.*

All Arts may
be reduced to
noble attempts
and condigne
fortunes by
their owne
professions.

ring the prosperous successe of *Lucius Quintias*, who was chosen one of the *Patricij* from his Plow stilt, and afterwards by his valour and magnanimity, reserveth the name to this day, of *Triumphalis Agricola*: a poore Husband-man sitting in his Chaire of Triumph, will desire by all meanes to imitate so notable a president; scorning to rippe up the bosome of the earth, when he may purchase himselfe more fame by the debazing his honour upon earth. The home-spunne Shepheard, hearing the renowned Acts of *Romulus*, fed and brought up among Shepheards: and of *Cirus*, who bare himselfe a Prince among Shepheards, will cast away Scrippe and Sheepe-crooke, and behave himselfe a worthy successour in their profession. The Gardiner hath an Emperour of his profession, to imitate, and an honest one too, as his name implies, to wit, *Probus*. The Wood-man or Forrester, a *Pompilius*. The Diviner, a *Zoroastres*: and the Philosopher, an *Aptanius*. But many have we, that we may better imitate than Princes: as their state was eminent, so were their natures depraved. We shall read that many of them were as good Law-breakers, as Law-makers; and the greatest Vices appeared least, (though most approved) in greatest men. They had ever vertuous pretences to shadow vice: sin became cloathed in Tissue. We shall see impunity of offences to be a great supportresse of them, presuming still on the Kings mercy, and squaring their course to his Discipline: for

Royal Errors.

Sub.

Subjects love to imitate their Prince, either in Vice or Vertue; but more are there inclined to the worst than the best; making this conclusion, through long and inveterate custome of sinne; which *Medea* in that cunning and quaint Discourse seemed to compasse, with this subtile preparation, laying this grand-hold of proceeding; *Fructus est scelerum, nullum tibi scelus putare*: A position of *Machiavel*: Wherein every judicious Reader may gather the admirable and inscrutable wisdom of God, frustrating their devices, annihilating their purposes, never bringing their designs to effect: yea, which is more worthy our observation, making there the most fooles, where they thought themselves to be most wise. For their policies either in governing, or establishing Empires; How farre short have their purposes ever come to effect: Examples I could produce many of this nature, as well Divine as Morall.

It is a safe, because a Divine Conclusion; No Estate secure without the protection of a Supreme Power. Take a Survey of all conditions, and you shall finde Frailty the Foundation they stand on. Cares and Feares, Shadows they cannot fly from. No Guard so strong, as to secure from Feare a Princes state; yea, he shall finde his very Kingdome to be his Prison while he is in it, and to be anothers, when he is removed from it. Yea, he shall finde nothing to be more profitable for a King, than sometimes not to play the King.

Machiavels Position

No estate secure without the protection of a Supreme Power.

Omne regnum suo principi carcer est, si exeat, alienum.

Yea, were there no Enemies to invade him; No disloyall hearts to undermine him, yet would he encounter with jealous and suspicious feares within himselfe to surprize him. This Portion wrought strongly with *Dionysius*, that Tyrant of *Syracuse*, who (as upon the like occasion hath beene formerly observed) became so suspicious, as hee would not trust his Barber to shave him, causing his Daughters to supply the Office of Barbers. Pocre Majesty! What pleasure could this Tyrant take in having a Kingdome; when his Crowne could not sit more close to his head, than those individuall Cares to a Crowne clung neare to his heart? This caused *Selenehus* so accustomedly to say, "That if a Man knew with
 "what Cares a Diadem was clogged; how very
 "few houres he were from disquiets freed; hee
 "would not take it up, though it lay in the street.

Yea, should neither Enmity assaile him, nor infirmity invade him, nor cares seaze on him, nor feares surprize him; yet would he find within him, though he had no assailants without him, that would daily amate him, nightly awake him. And now, when he h'as summ'd up all his cares; and summon'd all his feares; he finds all his seeming glory, that mighty masse of Majesty, confined to a very strait period.

Though *Zerxes* march along with a populous Army, drinking dry whole Rivers as they goe. Though *Alexander* intend to reduce Mount *Atlas* to the proportion of a Man; a small Molehill in comparison of a Mountaine will serve to
 cover

cover him. It is not in the power of a Monarchy to plead her prerogative against Mortality.

Let *Ægistus*' shrowd himsef with shame under *Clitemnestra*'s shelter; Let *Achylles* expose himsef with glory to all danger; an inevitable fate attends on both: Though Fame solemnize the Funerall of the one; but Infamy the obits of the other.

Continent *Cornelia* aswell as Sensuall *Scriboni*; vertuous *Lelia* aswell as vicious *Semphronia*; modest *Flavia* aswell as wanton *Faustina*; constant *Octavia* aswell as incontinent *Messalina* must share stakes equally with Fate: only they differ in the estimate of Fame: *In equales nascimur, aequales morimur.* Unequall in Birth, equall in Death. An equality of condition exacts an equal necessity of our dissolution. Neither be the Low wholly more secure then the High; which is no lesse sententiouly than truely verifide:

*Winds upon Cedars with most fury blow,
Whose fall must ruine those that grow below.*

O how dearely have many of our shady Followers of Greatnesse bought this Experiment! when their dependence upon such as were addicted to Ambition, brought them along with their unhappy Masters, to a speedy ruine. No Estate then can be secured: so long as we are Pilgrims; we must be inclosed with perils. For as Simple men are catched by others, so are Politicians catcht commonly by themselves.

- For tell me, thou Leprous Timist, who infectest the Aire by which thou breathest, makest the Earth barraine whereon thou treadest, makest every creature thy enemy which thou enjoyest ; what will it availe thee to be a profest Nenter, to make Religion a politick end, to be ever resolving, and never resolved ; ever doubtfull, and never settled ; to be a Toppe which alwayes runnes round ; or a Wheele ever holding a circular Motion without progression ? To have thy Religion ebbing and flowing ; thy Profession like the Soule of *Hermotimus* in *Plutarch*, and of *Epemides* in *Hesychius*, comming and going : little caring whether Religion sinke or swimme, whether thy Profession stand or fall ; or like to *Metius Suffetius* in *Livie*, who would strike or speake for neither side, untill one side goe downe, and then joyne to that which is best for Commodity ?

What will this availe thee, thou temporizing changeling ! Thou canst not shrowde thy selfe, nor actions from his eyes, who seeth all things, alwayes, at once. He, who h'as not God pleased, shal never escape his fury unappeased. There was never since the beginning of the world so cautious a Delinquent, that could find an Appeale from Gods judgment.

Let the Usurous wretch scrape never so carefully ; contract never so cautelously ; hoord up never so plentuously ; and gull the world never so subtilly : all this will not secure him ; he h'as Serjeants within him to attach him ; besides his prodigall

Plutarch. de Socratis Genio.
Hesych. de vita Philocephorum.
Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 1.

prodigall child; whose forlome hopes daily and nightly startle him.

Gnipho the Usurer (as *Lucian* saigneth) lyeth in Hel lamenting his miserable estate, that one *Rodochares* an incestuous prodigall did on earth consume his goods wastfully, which he with care and unjust meanes had scrap'd and rack'd together.

This Fiction begets a representive action: we shall find few scraping *Gnipho's*; but they ever leave behind them their scattring *Rodochares*. Be it every mans care so to regulate his providence: that his fortunes may appeare to be the Revenues of a good Conscience; and his Seed succeed in the possession of their inheritance. In the enjoyment of which happinesse, let none of us labour of such an *Atrophie*, as to want an healthful and thankfull *digestion* of Gods gracious benefits.

The Highest Prince then, be he never so strongly guarded; nor with forraigne Allyes powerfully friended; nor with Treasures; warres sinnew, enriched; nor with Ammunition furnished; cannot promise himselfe to be secure, without the protection and assistance of a Supream power.

How safe thought *Cirus* himselfe established in his new Translated Monarchy? when behold his security ends as miserably, as his beginnings had a flourish of seeming happinesse: Unfortunate he was for to be deprived of his hoped-for

for Greatnesse, by a Sexe so weakly effeminate: Soucing that Head (which was Head to a powerfull government) in a Tunnell of blood, with this bitter invection : *Satia te sanguine quem diu sitiisti, cuiusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.*

Iust. 1. lib.

The like of his successor *Cambyses*, who hoping to plant himselfe in a royall Throne by blood, miserably ended his owne life by his owne blood. An excellent and notable example of a sacrilegious and blood-thirsty Prince, who sought to establish himselfe by indirect meanes, (to wit) by the murther of his owne Naturall Brother *Mergis*. I insist longer upon examples, because I have oft-times found that Sentence of *Demosthenes* to bee most true: *Πάντες ἀσπίδοις ἐπίρου ἀδελφύμασι χρώμενοι μάλλον συλαβόις χυνοτάι.*

Ipsē enim gladio sponte sua exurgente, in senore graviter vulneratus, occubuit. ib.

Examples best motives to piety, confirmed by the Oration of *Demosthenes*.

These examples being best motives unto Piety, and, indeed, more forcible, in that we have two occasions in exemplary Presidents of imitation; the one to caution us not to doe this or that, least we fall into the like punishment, being attended on by the like meanes: The other (like a sweet lenitive) inducing us by reasons drawne from profit, which wee conceive may redound any way by the like examples, which the Poët seems to illustrate when he saith:

Exemplo alterius qui sapit, ille sapit.

The greatest benefit in private, I imagine to be drawne likewise, from the right and exact use


use

use of History! which particular good I have ranked in the second place, and that is this: *In private to behold the sundry dispositions of Princes and People: Reasons whereof cannot be given; but onely from the temperature of the Region wherein they live: Which reasons drawne from conjecturall grounds, are oftentimes deceived in themselves; as in disposing or ordering of States to the square of wisdom.*

This benefit I have gathered, and placed in the Reword: Last Observances (I know) take greatest Impression, and none more needfull than this: when wee shall have commerce with any people, than to call to mind their disposition, lest wee incurre a greater mischief through our ignorance. Strangely jealous are some Nations, they have *Adwons* Eyes, perchance his Eares: Wee must shew our selves modestly bashfull toward such, every lascivious looke is as good as a Comment for such men, taking our Eye to be the Directresse of our Heart: Others more prodigall of their Wives reputation, seeme respectlesse of their shame, or the hostage of honour, so they may increase their Estate, and raise their Fortunes out of Honours ruines. Other people we know to be of a surly, proud, and intractable nature, living more by their owne will (making it their Law) than the square of Reason. Others seemingly humble, more dangerous farre than the other, under pretences religiously honest, masking treacherous and disloyall projects: Never lesse your Friend, than when see-

*Noli obscurare
faciem, qualis
est, talis appare.
Babilus.*

ming most so: He hath a fleering looke, smooth face, sleeke tongue; can observe times, and for private advantage (like a second *Sinon*) unbo-
some himselfe unto you: There be no windows in his heart, therefore beleeve him not; if by the transparency of thy eye thou couldst see into that rotten Sepulchre of his sugred-poisoned heart, thou wouldst admire so faire and beautifull an out-side, to have so loathsome and hideous an in-side: Better charactred thou canst not have him than by History, it is the best Image of thy Life, and can best set out in their owne native colours such deformed Images.

 No Image so neare to Life, as the History of mans Life.

Nor is there any Modell drawne so neare to life, as History is to the Image of Mans life. There is no affection so strongly predominant in any person now living; which he may not find represented in lively colours, in the lifes and actions of others. And no doubt, but this affinity or resemblance of manners begot in *Pithagoras* that opinion of his *Metempsychosis* or transmigration of Soules: for so nearely found he the disposition of One resembling an Other; as he verily thought the Soule of that person endewed with such affections, passed into an others body: for otherwise they could not possibly so nearely agree in the temper or quality of their humours.

And should man take a due perusal of himselfe; what he is naturally most affected too; what passion most rageth or raigneth in him; what hopes and feares accompany him; upon what grounds those receive life in him. Again; what

what receipts he finds most Sovereigne to attemper those Motions in him : no doubt, but he shall upon reading of *History*, meete with some One or Other, so nearely resembling him, and inwardly like him ; as he cannot chuse but hugge the Story for the Statue sake. Seeing himselfe so nearely moulded, as himselfe cannot be more like himselfe, then he finds his mentall part resembled. So as, he might well avouch, upon the presentment of an other so like himselfe : *Vel meipsum nescio, vel in alio meipsum Sentio* : I eyther know not my selfe, or in another I see my selfe.

Might we assume that freedome which *Plutarch* enjoyed, in a Paralell of preceeding with succeeding times ; the persons and actions present with those that went before us ; we should returne as neare a resemblance in ours, as ever he did in the Symbolizing of his Princes.

Themistocles found *Miltiades* spirit in himselfe. Such like noble minded Persons should we finde in ours. Others, like *Palinurus*, or a love-sicke *Paris*, more apt to encounter with love, then to ingage themselves in any other List. And neare resemblances might we cull out aswell for these as those : both for Campe Honour and a Carpet Lover. Which might prove a singular motive to excite Valour, even in those, whose remisser spirits stood before so rebaited, as they might take a perfect draught of their owne Physnomics by that white-liver'd Captaine, who looking himselfe in a Glasse when he was angry, was affrighted

with his owne countenance. Whereas, contrariwise, true Heroick Spirits, who never tooke acquaintance of one unmanly feare, might find others so lively resembling them, as if they lineally descended from them.

Such a Survey of Honour might rightly merit the Title of the *Noble-mans Lecture*: Laying downe such deserving grounds of Courtiers integrity, Martiall prowesse and Christian pollicy, as might attract unto them an eagre desire of imitation.

Nor in this NURSERY OF GENTRY should the quick-sighted Reader find only discourse for Noble Personages to regulate themselves by; in the view of others actions and dispositions, with the resemblance they find in themselves both of their actions and dispositions: But even such, who have bestowed much precious time in a *Sedentary life*, shall obserue others no lesse affected that way, then themselves. That neare resemblance, no doubt, which Divine *Plato* gath'ed from the report of *Phocius* disposition, and his, (confirmed by intermissive Letters and other motives) drew him forth of *Asia* into *Cilicia*, for no other cause but onely to see *Phocion*, so much endeared to him by the report of his vertues, and neare resemblance in conversation.

In this respect, our *History* may well deserve the Style of the *Muses Wardrobe*. Or by reason of the Continuation of her *Mixed Discourse*, stored, for the Readers more delight, with all variety, be properly entitled, *The Scholars*

lers Medley. But our care is not to insist on *Style*, but profit of the *State*: making this our principall ayme, that as in favour and feature you resemble others, you may by a Divine emulation, retaine likewise a resemblance of the vertues of others.

Nor is it to be questioned, but as wee see faces in their favour so nearely resembling one another (though they have no relation to one an other in blood) as they can hardly be discerned one from the other: So likewise, in the inward favour or feature of the Mind, there is such an harmony or Divine Symmetry, as there can be no nearer resemblance to the Eye, in those parts or lineaments of the body.

How much then, *Gentlemen*, may *History* seeme to deserve your Love; when you may see in it as in a Mirror, the Image of your whole Life? This is no such deceiving artificial Glasse, that by the remoteness of your Object, makes little things seem great, and great little: for this renders a true proportion to the face of every action.

Besides this, *History* directs Man in the progresse of this Life. It never deblazons Honour in the field, but as a branch derived from the first house. Whatsoever declines or degenerates from her, must beare no Armes without a distinction; when Goodnesse suffers a deficiency, it must carry no Coat without a difference. And such Corrasives bring many times vicious habits both to a feeling and a cure. No matter, though ill-affected mindes accompt such Monitors at the

History directs
man in the
progresse of
his Life.

first for their Foes, they will hold them, when they have try'd them, for their truest friends.

Telephus, when hee could finde none amongst his Friends to cure his wound, permitted his Enemy to doe it. And hee, who purposed to kill *Promethus* the *Thessalian*, opened his Impostume with his Sword. Corrasives are ever held more Sovereaigne than Cordials for old Sores. Nay, in these *Treasuries of Time*, you shall finde Directions from one State or Story to another, to prepare man both for his present and future condition.

*Starres are directing Emblemes unto Kings,
Kings to their Peeres, Peeres to inferiour things.*

Nor stayeth our Historicall Direction heere: for it prepares Man as well in his passage from life, as Pilgrimage of this life: shewing, what diversity of infirmities accompany us; how they are the Suburbs of Death: and how every yeere, nay, every Moonth bringeth some one or new malady, as a Messenger of Mans mortality.

He will tell you too, how bitter Death is unto such, who never thinke of it before they grapple with it: and this our Historian points out to life in that sole-affectionate or Soule-passionate Dialogue of that expiring Emperour, in his pittifully-perplexed farewell to his best-beloved, his dearest Darling.

Thus may you finde in *History*, the Image and Life of Man, his Image after he surceaseth to be Man. Directions for his Life; Provisions against

Monstrant Regibus astra viam. Claud. Parad.

History prepares man in his passage from life.

Omnis Annus secum nova parit Mortis nuntia.

Omnem Mensem secum novum peperisse morbum sentiens. Aphor. *Aelius Adrianus.* *Arimula, vasa, blanda, &c.*

gainst Death: effectuall Considerations for both.

Upon a review of the Premisses, we may safely draw up this Conclusion: Thy whole Life wrapt up in Experiments either at home or abroad, cannot teach thee so much, as a serious discourse taking breath from one integrious History, will teach thee in one yeere.

Historicall relations, occasions of publick Experiments.

LUCIL.

Scriptis aspires meis, qui favet votis.

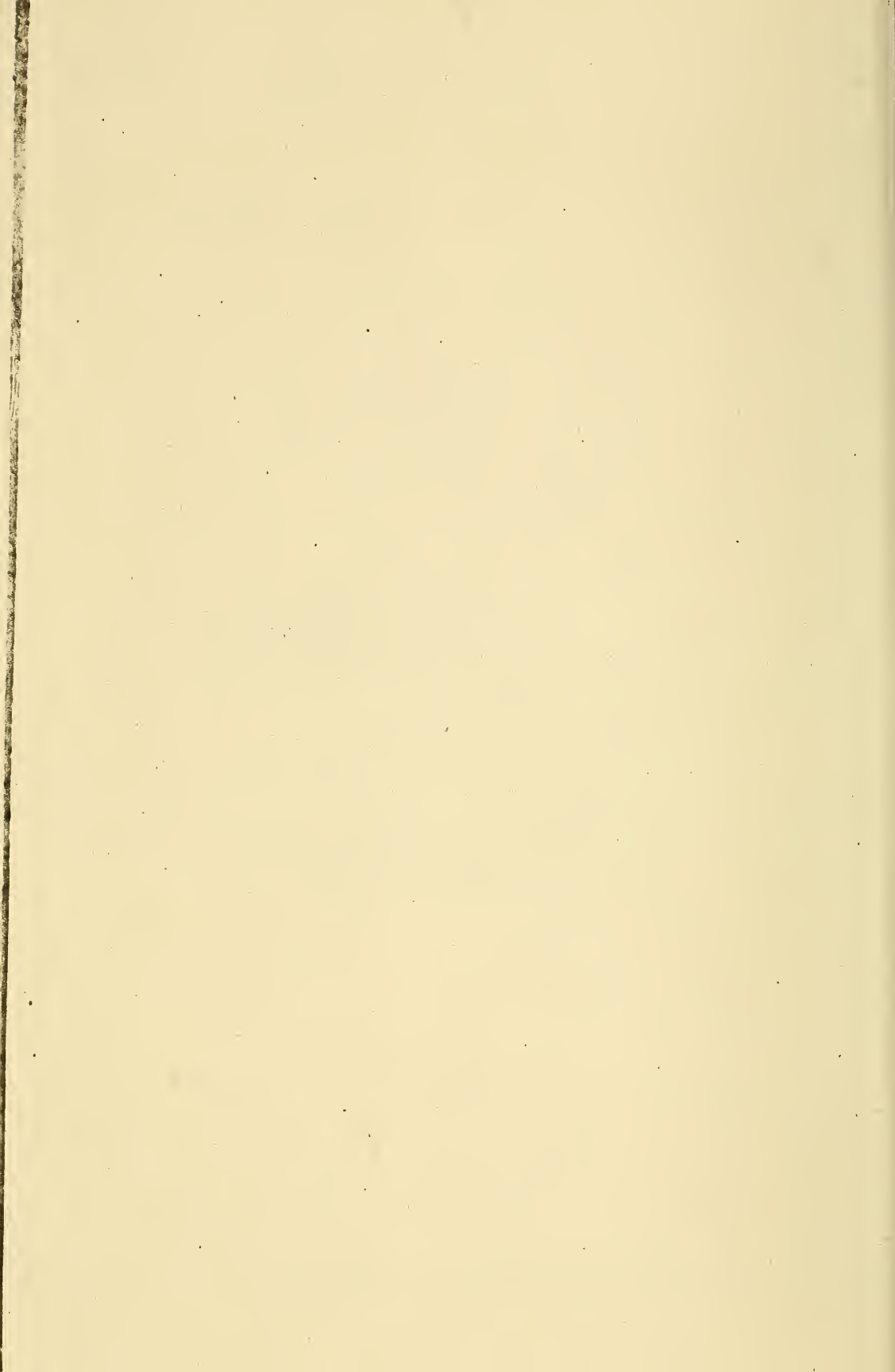
Laus ei soli tribuatur omnis,
Cujus afflatu Labor extat omnis,
Fructus ut vitæ referantur omnes
Orbis in oras.

Imprimatur THO. WYKES R. P.
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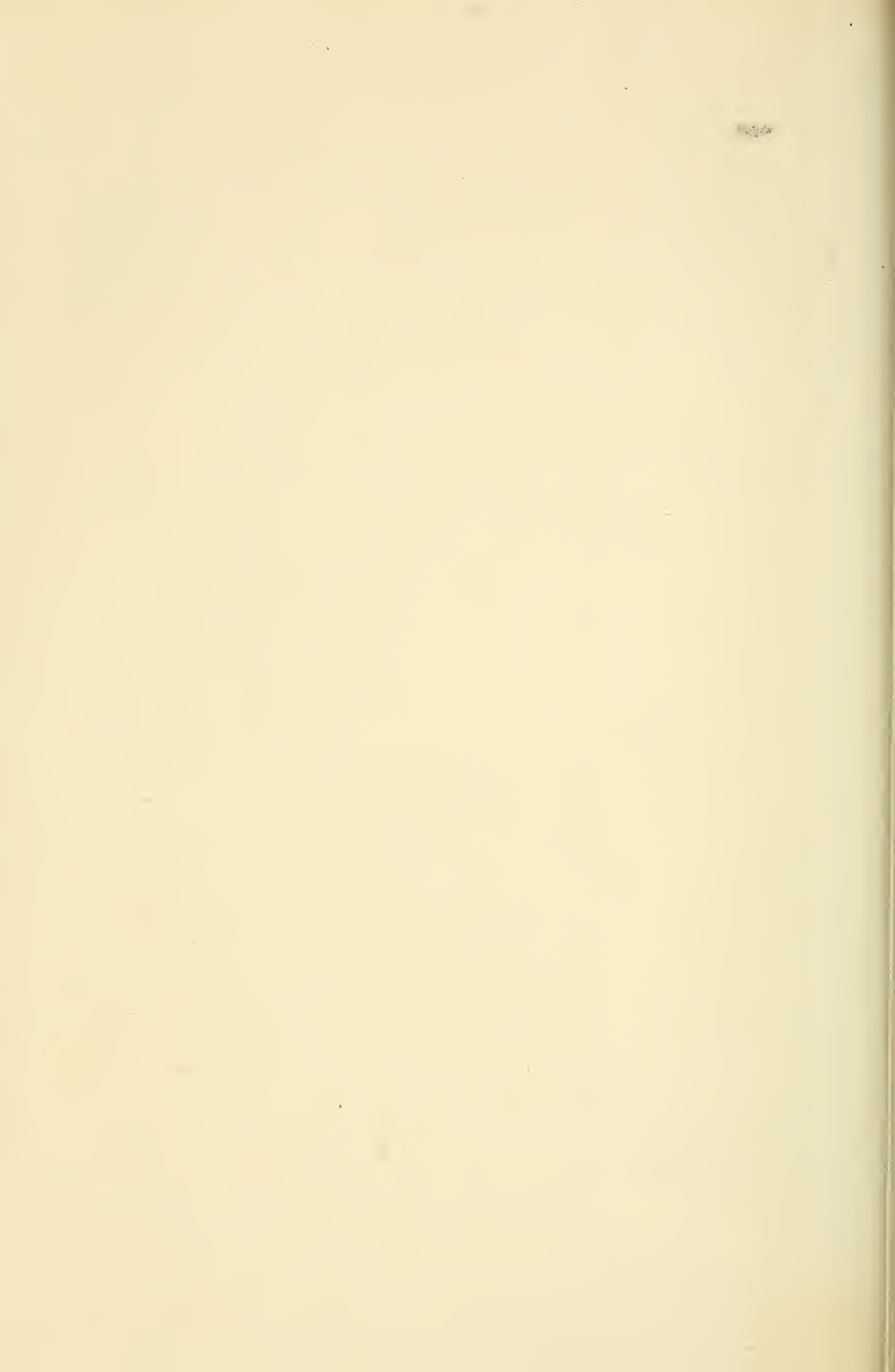
FINIS.

Errata's in the Survey,

P Age 8. lin. 1. for Soylla, read Sylla. p. ib. l. 9. for
 Pharmaces, r. Pharnaces. p. 11. marg. for the Cities
Motto triumphant, r. *The Cities triumphant Motto*. p.
 14. l. 22. for which, r. which. p. 19 l. ult. for guardon, r.
 guerdon. p. 22. l. 20. for anatted, r. enatted p. 27 l. 18.
 for Phocyon, r. Phocyons. p. 84. l. 22. dele no. p. 145. l. 2.
 for Scylla, r. Sylla. p. 156. l. 1. dele is. p. 161. l. 24. for
 over, r. ever. ib. l. 26. for difficulty, r. difficultly. p. 164. l.
 24. for Lincius, r. Lynceus. p. 170. l. 8. for latecit, r. la-
 ceste. p. 174. l. ult. for attendants, r. attendance. p. 194.
 l. 28. for leas, r. lees. p. 205. marg. for Amazantus, r. A-
 miantus. p. 220. l. 9. for reasons, r. relations. * *Quot folia,*
tot errorum fila; preli feda; Quot Chalcographi crimina,
tot Autographi vulnera. Animadvers. p. 239. l. ult. for
 we, r. were. p. 374. l. 25. for Scrutine, r. Scrutiny. p. 343.
 l. 16. for inventing, r. di venting. p. 347. l. 3. for Aulius, r.
 Aulus. p. 348. l. 29. for never, r. never more. p. 461. marg.
 for beaftiall, r. beftiall. p. 362. l. 9. for ices, r. viges. p. 369. l. 9.
 for make might, r. might make.



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